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JOHN SHRADER



PETER CARTWRIGHT



ROBERT PARRETT



JOSEPH WHEELER

INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Vol. XVII

MARCH, 1921

No. 1

The Life and Times of John Shrader

INCLUDING THE INTRODUCTION AND PROGRESS OF
METHODISM IN SOUTHWESTERN INDIANA¹

BY JOHN E. IGLEHART

THE COMING OF JOHN SHRADER

One hundred years ago John Shrader, the regular appointed circuit rider of the Methodist Episcopal church traveling in southwestern Indiana, brought together on Saturday, December 12, 1819, at Hugh McGary's double log warehouse in Evansville, where Shrader preached, three educated regularly ordained ministers, local preachers, Richard and Joseph Wheeler, brothers, then living in Blue Grass, North Vanderburgh county, in the British settlement, and Robert Parrett, living on a clearing in the wilderness on the western border of the settlement near where Blairsville is now located in Posey county. The occasion was an unusual one for the time and locality, which accounts for its mention in local history.²

Organized Methodist forces, adjusted to the life and necessities of the widely scattered pioneers in the wilderness, had before this date established a preaching place at McGary's ferry, and the church records show the names of preachers assigned to this territory from 1809 continuously

¹ An address delivered Sunday, December 13, 1919, at the Coliseum in Evansville at the centennial celebration of the occasion mentioned in it. The address is printed as delivered, with additions of fuller statements of historical nature.

² *History of Vanderburgh County* (B. & F.) 278.

afterward,³ and local history records the fact that Evansville before this meeting had been assessed at 56½ cents per quarter of three months for the support of the gospel.⁴

Trifling as the sum mentioned now seems to us, it represented \$2.25 cents per year, or about one thirtieth of the salary of the circuit rider, \$60.00 per year, which was, before Evansville became a hamlet and the county seat, its proper proportion.

As early as 1814 on the formation of Warrick county, Evansville was named and existed in the brain of Hugh McGary, its proprietor, as a prospective town site.

It had already been, for three months, under that name, the county seat of Warrick county, but was changed by the legislature and remained for three years little more than Hugh McGary's residence and store and ferry over the Ohio river, as well as a ferry over Pigeon creek, half a mile west, to Posey county, the eastern boundary of which reached in 1815 to Pigeon creek. Hugh McGary, while not a church man, was a promoter and town builder and anxious to give his prospective town prominence of every character, and I have no doubt that his house or store had been a preaching point for the circuit rider during all of this time, though there exists no other record in any published history of any religious meetings held in Evansville earlier than the one we celebrate today.

The Wheelers and Parrett were local Wesleyan preachers, who had only just arrived in the English settlement, and Shrader wisely saw the opportunity to begin a work which now at the end of the century has produced great results. They were educated men, men of force, ability and prominence, and the Wheelers had sat under the teachings of Adam Clark in England.⁵

For a full description of the English Settlement which at this date, or soon afterwards, represented about one-half of the leading citizens of Vanderburgh county, see "The Coming of the English to Indiana in 1817 and their Hoosier Neighbors", *Indiana Magazine of History*, v. 15, p. 89.

³ Elliott, *History Vanderburgh County*, pp. 238-9.

⁴ *History Vanderburgh County* (B. & F.) 278.

⁵ Holliday, *History of Methodism in Indiana*, p. 90. Doctor Holliday knew Joseph Wheeler intimately as also Robert Parrett, who was the leading member of Locust Street Church when the former was pastor in 1844.

Joseph Wheeler's wife, when a small child, had recited a long psalm while sitting on John Wesley's knee in her father's house in Witney, and the head of at least one other family in the settlement had known Wesley in his work in Ireland.⁶

The occasion which we celebrate today was a week day meeting, but under the conditions of pioneer life, week day meetings were essential to religious worship, and all ordinary business was suspended when they were held.

Shrader first introduced Methodism into New Albany, Jeffersonville and New Lebanon, in 1818. Isaac Reed, the Presbyterian missionary, one of the most authentic historians of early southern Indiana, was stationed as pastor of a church in New Albany in the fall of 1818, and records that the Methodists already had a meeting-house. This building immediately followed John Shrader's visit there earlier in that year. At the first Methodist meeting held in McGary's warehouse, it was arranged that Robert Parrett and the two Wheeler brothers should conduct religious services regularly at that place, each of them once every six weeks, and the appointments were so arranged that there was divine service at that warehouse every other Sunday, besides an occasional extra sermon by the circuit rider.⁷

Thus matters continued until the spring of 1821, when the few Methodists in Evansville obtained permission from Dr. John W. Shaw to use the front room of his new residence, then in process of erection, as a place of worship. The building was weatherboarded and lathed, but not plastered. This house stood on the present site of the Chandler block on First street between Locust and Walnut. The Shaw residence continued to be occupied by the Methodists as their place of worship until the early part of 1824, when the congregation obtained use of a large room adjoining the Warner tavern, where the meetings were continued for the next three years.⁸

It occupied the space on First street next to the southwest corner of First and Locust streets, and was called the "den", for here the fast young men of the village congrega-

⁶ *Indiana Magazine of History*, v. 15, p. 159.

⁷ *History of Vanderburgh County*, 278.

⁸ *Idem*.

gated to play cards and drink, but the tavern-keeper, when it was time for the preacher to come around, had it vacated, swept and cleaned.

In 1825, Robert Parrett moved from Posey county to Evansville, bought 160 acres of land on the southern boundary of the town, which is now solidly built up as a part of the city, and in that year, at his house, established a church class.

Some local historians—most of them state the facts as I have stated them, none controvert them,—treat the establishment of a “class” in 1825 as the first introduction of Methodism in Evansville, and upon that idea alone have stated that the introduction of Presbyterianism was earlier here, though admittedly later than December, 1819. But this claim results from want of proper understanding of the machinery of the Methodist church as established by Wesley, the same in 1819, and substantially the same now, and in its adjustment to the backwoodsmen. “The Circuit Rider, the local preacher or class leader, the classes, the love-feast or a general meeting—these were enough in way of religious machinery.”⁹

At the meeting we celebrate today were present the circuit rider, three local preachers, at a general public meeting, though on weekday, and a permanent organization, publicly announced that four Methodist ministers would by turns furnish Sunday preaching alternately every other Sunday from that time, and they did. This work was done under the direction of a circuit rider, fully authorized, traveling a circuit previously established, embracing Evansville as a preaching point some time earlier. The date of the first establishment is not recorded by local historians, but they record the facts as I state them.¹⁰

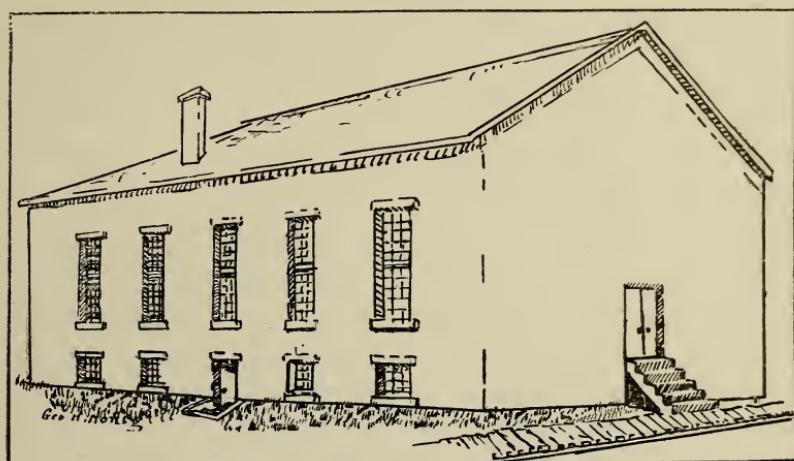
The itinerant system of Methodism in full practical operation, in its introduction in the wilderness, furnished a primitive, unique and unsurpassed system, independent of the class-meeting, whereby the circuit rider made the acquaintance of every man, woman and child in the county and broke

⁹ Hubbard, *Life of Wesley*, 37.

¹⁰ *History of Vanderburgh County*, 278; Gilbert, *History of Vanderburgh County*, Volume 1, page 310.

bread at the tables of the great majority of the hospitable householders.¹¹

It must be evident that a "class" composed only of church members was not the *sine qua non* to church organization or to the introduction of Methodism, either in church machinery or in the far greater part of itinerant work in the wilderness, and that the Methodist claim of priority under the facts shown in local history is established.



LOCUST ST. M. E. CHURCH 1839. THE FIRST M. E.
CHURCH BUILDING BUILT IN EVANSVILLE.

The record of the times is scant, but Joseph Tarkington records a visit to Evansville in 1824 of which he says, "The quarterly meeting was held upstairs in a dilapidated frame house." This proves that Evansville Methodism, though weak, had in 1824, a year before Parrett moved to Vanderburgh county, and established a "class", the quarterly meeting which implied regular church organization in full operation and the probabilities are that the missionary spirit of these founders had this institution of Methodism in operation at the time of the organization of the public Sunday services in 1819.¹²

¹¹ Milburn, the blind preacher, *Ten Years of Preacher's Life*, 81. See also Note 92, letter of W. H. Harrison, describing the work of the circuit rider in territorial days and later.

¹² Tarkington's *Autobiography*, 99.

In those days there was no need for church corporations, or church treasurers, and the first church corporation in Evansville, organized in 1822, had no regular preacher for many years later. Evansville for many years depended very largely upon Joseph Wheeler and Robert Parrett for regular preaching of an educated ministry with an occasional visit of the circuit rider.

After the Presbyterian church was built in 1831 these local preachers for a considerable period furnished regular preaching in that church, where all denominations met together in the absence of any regular stationed minister.¹³

Richard Wheeler remained only a short time in Vanderburgh county, removing to Cincinnati, where he reared a family, and some of his descendants now live there. Joseph Wheeler remained in the country upon a farm until the forties, when he moved to Evansville. While he never joined the travelling ministry, he felt a call for continuous work as a preacher and was probably more active as an exhorter and local preacher than any of the local preachers of this section, excepting John Shrader and Moses Ashworth. For many years he was the regular preacher at the Stringtown Union church, and there are persons now living who speak with reverence and affection of his services to that community.¹⁴

Robert Parrett has always been known as the father of Methodism in Evansville. Largely through his influence Locust Street church was built and dedicated in April, 1839. Upon his farm was burned the brick with which the building was constructed. Without his aid it could not have been built at that time as it was. Local history has done ample justice to both Joseph Wheeler and Robert Parrett, both of whom left a number of descendants of prominent families in this community.

The first authentic record of the introduction of Methodism into southwestern Indiana begins in 1808 with Peter Cartwright, who was called to old Knox county by some of

¹³ Reilly, *History of Walnut Street Presbyterian Church*, Evansville, 18-19.

¹⁴ Mrs. Phebe Whittlesey Hamlin, now of California, knew and heard preach all of these ministers. As a child she was an attendant at the Stringtown church in the forties under Joseph Wheeler's pastorate. Of Shrader and Joseph Wheeler, whom she knew best and intimately for many years, she writes: "They were the best two men I ever knew in every respect."

his former Kentucky friends, who had emigrated to Indiana territory, as a great controversial debater to stem the tide of a disreputable sect known as Shakers, who, in the absence of any organized opposition, were making headway at their settlement at Bushro [Busseron], some eight or ten miles north of Vincennes, and Cartwright's achievement in succeeding in the object of his visit is one of the interesting incidents recorded in his biography.¹⁵

While at Vincennes, Cartwright established preaching points on a circuit in 1808 included within the Green River district of the *Western Conference*, and the presiding elder of the Green River District temporarily supplied this circuit in 1809 and in 1810 Wm. Winans, and in 1811 Thomas Stilwell were appointed to it—regular circuit preachers. The circuit was called St. Vincennes circuit, and from that day to this the organized itinerant system of Methodism has been in operation in this section, with always a regularly appointed minister, ready and willing to hold public services and establish the various forms of organization adapted to the conditions of the people, whether in the tavern, the courthouse or the log-cabin, for there were up to 1830 no churches in Vanderburgh county.¹⁶

In 1812 Peter Cartwright was appointed by Bishop Asbury at the Tennessee Conference (the Western Conference was now divided into the Ohio and Tennessee), the presiding elder of the Wabash District, which included circuits north of the river, Vincennes in Indiana, and the little Wabash and Fort Massack in Illinois. Five of the circuits in this district were in the state of Kentucky. In 1816 the Missouri conference was organized, and it was transferred from the Tennessee conference, Arkansas, Illinois and the western part of Indiana. Shrader after that date was a member of the Missouri conference. John Shrader was well born, and his life showed an absence of the rude and coarser traits which several generations of life in the wilderness tended to produce among the pioneer backwoodsmen. This enhanced his

¹⁵ Autobiography of Peter Cartwright (Strickland), 53.

¹⁶ In addition to church conference records, local history gives the names and date of service of circuit riders conducting organized church services here from 1811. *History of Vanderburgh County*, 277-279; Elliott, *History (Evansville); Vanderburg County*, 283-239.

reputation and popularity among the latter. In his long journey he regularly carried books with him. His father, John Jacob Von Shraeder was born in Germany, educated at Heidelberg, travelled in France after the custom of ambitious young men of his time, and on November 16, 1784, came to America to avoid service in the German army. In New York he dropped the Von from his name, and substituted "a" for "ae". He was attracted to a Methodist class meeting while in New York, was converted, joined that church, and soon afterwards moved to Baltimore, where he married Miss Wolf, and here, of this marriage, John Shrader was born in 1792. The elder Shrader was a musician of local celebrity and composed numerous songs.

John Shrader emigrated with his parents to Knoxville, Tennessee, in 1795. He was converted and joined the church in 1810. He was licensed to exhort in 1811 and to preach in 1812; admitted into the Tennessee conference in 1814. He was ordained deacon by Bishop Asbury at Lebanon, Tennessee, in 1814, and ordained elder by Bishop Roberts in 1818 at Olwells camp ground below Alton, Illinois. In 1814 he served on the Green River circuit in Kentucky under Peter Cartwright as presiding elder, with ten appointments four hundred miles around. In 1815 he was sent to Vincennes circuit, then in the Tennessee conference which had twenty appointments and was three hundred miles around. At this time local history names him first among preachers who held service at Newburg, Indiana.¹⁷

In 1816 he was sent to St. Charles circuit in the Missouri conference, in which conference southwestern Indiana was then embraced, which had twenty-two appointments, and was three hundred and fifty miles in circumference. In 1817 he was again on the Vincennes circuit now five hundred and fifty miles around it, with King and Davis as colleagues. In 1818 he was sent to Blue River circuit, when his headquarters were at Corydon upon a change in the boundaries of the circuit. In 1819 he was sent to White River circuit, Arkansas territory, which had ten appointments and was

¹⁷*History of Warrick County* (1885), 124. Elijah Goodwin refers to church literature which Shrader gave him at this time which influenced his life. *Life of Elijah Goodwin*, by H. M. Mathes, 21.

four hundred miles in circumference. In the hardships of this life he almost lost his life, at times sleeping in the woods during illness, and in the winter of that year he is found at work in the Patoka or Pigeon circuit in Indiana, the exact boundaries of which are not easy now to distinguish. In 1820 he was again sent to the Corydon circuit, Indiana.

In Dr. F. C. Holliday's sketch of the life and times of Allen Wiley, published in 1853, are found extracts from a letter from John Shrader, which show the first introduction of Methodism into territory west of the Mississippi river.

As an illustration of the labors, privations, and hardships of the early pioneers of Methodism in the west the following is given, furnished by Rev. John Shrader, an early associate of Wiley in the ministry, and who is yet living. He says:

"In the spring of 1818, I was removed to Silver Creek Circuit on the Ohio, embracing the country from the mouth of Blue river up to Madison. Rev. J. Cord had been appointed to this circuit by the bishop; but his house being consumed by fire, he was compelled to quit traveling for a season, and return to his friends. I came to Cord's appointment at Gazaway's, and found him preaching from 'The Lord is my Shepherd; I shall not want.' It was a good sermon, preached by a good man. After service I told him that I had come to take his place. He appeared glad to be released, and hastened home. I now entered on my work with much fear and trembling. Revivals had commenced at different points on the circuit under Cord's preaching, and on me rested the responsibility of carrying on this great work, which extended nearly all over the circuit; and during the year nearly six hundred were taken into the church on trial. I took into the circuit, as new preaching-places, New Lexington, Jeffersonville, and New Albany. Some seven or eight members of the church had formed themselves into a class at New Albany, and called on me to preach for them, which I did in a tavern occupied by a Mrs. Ruff. In this tavern I administered the sacrament of the Lord's supper for the first time, I suppose, that it was ever administered in New Albany.

At the close of this year, by the direction of the presiding elder, I went to Cincinnati to meet Bishop M'Kendree, and conduct him to the seat of the Missouri conference, which was to be held at Bethel meeting-house, near the present town of Washington, the county seat of Daviess county, Indiana. I was taken sick the first day of the conference, but was well taken care of at the house of William Hawkins. My appointment for the ensuing year was Spring River circuit, Arkansas territory. It was some time before I sufficiently recovered from my sickness to enable me to ride. But while yet feeble I started for my field of labor, which required a journey of five hundred miles.

My circuit embraced a large extent of territory; it was mountainous and rocky; the settlements were very scattering, and it was far between the appointments. The inhabitants were mostly hunters, and lived on the game they caught. They generally brought their dogs and guns to meeting with them. The dogs very often differed with each other; and a quarrel ensued, and this ended in a general dog fight. This always produced a stir in the congregation, and consumed some time before peace could be restored and ratified. The preacher would be interrupted in his sermon, or perhaps forget his text, and have to finish with an exhortation.

At other times the hunters would return home during divine service, with venison, bear meat and dogs. But we were not easily disturbed in those days. We had plenty of venison, bear-meat, and turkeys to eat; but our bread was corn, and coarse at that. In many places we had no way of grinding our grain, except on what was called Armstrong's mill. This was generally a long cedar pole, with one end made fast on the ground, and supported in the middle by two forks, with a pestle fastened to the small end. Under it we placed a mortar, and thus we prepared our breadstuff, and this we frequently baked without sifting; and perhaps this is the reason why we did not have the dyspepsia. In some parts of the circuit, however, we fared well for the times, found warm friends, and, at two or three appointments, had good revivals of religion. At the close of the year I traveled as far west as the Arkansas river, and attended a camp meeting on its bank. We had a good meeting, at the close of which I started for conference, which sat at M'Kendree chapel, near Cape Girardeau, Missouri.

My next appointment was Corydon, Indiana. I was much pleased with this appointment, and felt myself at home among my old friends.

In 1816 the Missouri conference was organized, and held its first session at Turkey Hill settlement, in Illinois. The following is Father Shrader's account of the organization of the conference, and of his first appointment from the conference:

Bishop M'Kendree and myself started from Louisville, Kentucky, for Vincennes, from whence Walker, Scripps, and others, were to travel with us through the wilderness to the Missouri conference. After camping in the wilderness three nights, we arrived at the seat of the conference. When the conference was organized we found that we had seven members present, and some few were admitted on trial. These are now all dead, except J. Scripps and myself. The conference extended over four different states. Most of the members of conference were young men. We had received very little quarterage from our circuits, and consequently were in tolerably straightened circumstances. Bishop M'Kendree gave the conference one hundred dol-

lars, and this, added to our share of the funds, made us a pretty fair dividend. From this conference we scattered over this immense territory. My appointment was to Missouri circuit, embracing the settlements between the Missouri and Mississippi rivers. I commenced preaching in St. Charles in a tavern. Some of the bacchanalians would leave their worship and listen to me awhile, and sometimes they would swear that I was preaching the best sermon that they ever heard. We had a good revival on the Missouri, above St. Charles. In the fall of this year the presiding elder and myself traveled up the Missouri as far as Boone's Lick, and held a camp meeting—the first ever held in that part of the world. Having to lodge in the woods six nights, going and returning, I was taken very sick, and had like to have died in the wilderness.¹⁸

Allen Wiley gives the following account of John Shrader in the conference year of 1819 and 1820:¹⁹

John Shrader was the preacher in charge of the Indian Creek circuit, and he had for his colleague, John Everheart, who had once been a member of the Baltimore conference and had located.

Shrader was zealous and successful; and Everheart was sometimes up and sometimes down, and consequently not calculated to do much good. How large a scope of country about Corydon was embraced in this circuit I do not know. All my information concerning this circuit is obtained from the minutes. From this source of information I learn there was a pretty good increase on the circuit, for it advanced from four hundred and eighty-six to six hundred and thirty-seven, being an addition of one hundred and fifty-one, which was doing pretty well in a country that could not have been densely populated twenty-six years ago.

Allen Wiley again describes John Shrader:²⁰

The name of Indian Creek circuit was superseded this year by that of Corydon, which remains to this day; but the circuit is much curtailed, for there have been detached from it, New Albany, now containing two stations, Greenville, Elizabeth and Fredericksburg circuits. John Shrader, who was the preacher, was quite a popular and successful preacher. He had been admitted on trial by the Tennessee conference in the fall of 1813, and continued faithful in the work until the fall of 1821, when he located and settled in the lower part of Indiana, commonly called the Pocket, from its shape between the Ohio and Wabash rivers. He still lives there and is yet a very popular and useful preacher. The only time I ever saw him was in the

¹⁸ Holliday, *Indiana Methodism*, 48.

¹⁹ Article No. 21, Introduction of Methodism into southeastern Indiana, *Western Christian Advocate*, June 5, 1846.

²⁰ *Western Christian Advocate*, June 19, 1846.

summer of 1818, when he went to Cincinnati to pilot Bishop M'Kendree to the Missouri conference, which met at Mt. Zion meeting-house, at or near the forks of White river in Indiana. His circuit had some prosperity this year (1820-21); for the minutes report 75 of an increase.

John Shrader had all of the modesty and simplicity of a cultured mind. His daughter, Mrs. W. H. Grim of Sullivan, Indiana, now in her 85th year, says it was very difficult to get him to talk about himself. The incidents of his life are gathered from outside sources. The records of the conferences in which he worked as a travelling minister show successful revivals and increase wherever he went. The historians of early Methodism in Indiana rely upon his statements written at their request for the earliest authentic historical statements of the work in which he was engaged.

That he was a man of ability and culture for the time, and regarded as fit to lead in the work of the introduction of Methodism into the territory and state of Indiana, is evidenced by the fact that he was twice sent to Corydon, which was the capital of Indiana territory and state.

In 1821 at Poseyville he married Pamelia Jaquess, one of the daughters of a pioneer. He then settled there and located. Location was a necessary result of the marriage of a preacher in those days, although his daughter says his health broke down and compelled him to locate, and other testimony corroborates that statement.

His daughter says he was active in preaching and church work always, though a local preacher. She does not remember the time when he did not at the end of the week travel from home to preach somewhere.

Dr. Holliday, author of the leading history of Indiana Methodism, was the stationed minister in Locust Street church in 1844, and previously knew well Ashworth, Shrader, Wheeler and Parrett, and classes Shrader, Ashworth and Wheeler as exhorters and local preachers of great power.²¹

After he was over sixty-five years old, and his children

²¹ Holliday, *Methodism*, 88-90. Mrs. Robert Parrett told Mrs. Grim, Father Shrader's youngest child, the incident of Father Shrader preaching at Locust Street church once, when a local preacher, when so few men were present—the congregation was composed chiefly of women—that she told him she feared there would not be enough men in Heaven to sing bass.

were grown, Shrader again entered the travelling ministry in the Indiana conference, and was stationed two years on the Blue Grass circuit, two years on the Mount Vernon circuit, two years on the New Harmony circuit, and also upon the Owensville circuit.

Dr. Holliday, who knew Father Shrader intimately during their lives, after quoting at length from the latter as an original and one of the highest and best authorities on the beginnings of Methodism in Indiana and the west, and describing his missionary labors on the Missouri river, the first among protestant ministers, says of him:

Such energy, devotion and toil, such cheerful self-denial and unostentatious moral heroism as was displayed by the early Methodist preachers in the west, has never been equalled in the history of our country, except, perhaps, in the case of the early Jesuit missionaries of the Romish Church, who were the first explorers, authentic historians and geographers of the great west, more than a century before Shrader's time.

An incident is given by the daughter of John Shrader upon the authority of an eye-witness, Mrs. Ann Dooks, which occurred at a camp meeting near Mt. Carmel, Illinois, where he was actively at work as a local preacher. At the close of the services when the lights on the ground had been put out, about 1:00 o'clock in the morning, a band of drunken rowdies entered the meeting ground and created a disturbance. When urged to be quiet and retire they said that if they could have their preacher preach a sermon they would be quiet. Upon being asked who their preacher was they said Father Shrader. He was aroused from his bed, dressed, took the platform, the grounds were lit up and he opened the services with a song. Those who knew him well describe his voice as one of great musical power. He took for his text the subject "What will a man give in exchange for his soul." At the end of the sermon, seekers were invited to come forward. A number did so, and four of those rowdies, who by this time had become thoroughly sobered, professed religion at this meeting, and later became Methodist preachers.

In the biography of Joseph Tarkington is mentioned a preaching service in Evansville in 1824, where he was travelling the circuit, at which several notables were present,

and among them he mentioned John Shrader as preaching, and incidentally remarks that he (Tarkington) was converted at Bloomington under the influence of a sermon preached by John Shrader.²²

The work of John Shrader, as a travelling preacher in the itinerancy continued for only about eight years. He married in 1821, located and settled near Poseyville in Posey county, upon a quarter section of land given to his wife by her father, Jonathan Jaquess, who in 1815, when he came to Indiana territory, entered nine or more quarter sections of fine land, one for each of his children. Shrader's lifework—as in a measure did Moses Ashworth and Joseph Wheeler's—continued without interruption though as a local preacher in active work in the ministry for which he seemed so fitted and in which he was so successful.

MOSES ASHWORTH

Moses Ashworth preceded Shrader in time as an active preacher and travelled the first circuit located wholly north of the Ohio river in Indiana.

The first entire circuit in the territory of Indiana was the Silver Creek, which was organized in 1807 with Moses Ashworth as the circuit preacher. This new circuit took in Clark's grant, which had formerly been included within the Salt River and Shelby circuit of the Kentucky district. With the organization of this circuit, Indiana Methodism starts on its separate career. Moses Ashworth closed his first year with a campmeeting, held in the Robertson's neighborhood, a few miles from Charlestown, and this was one of the first, if not the first camp-meeting to be held in Indiana.²³

The journal of the old Western conference²⁴ shows that Moses Ashworth began his work in the ministry about the first of the year 1805, and after nine months travelling he was admitted to the conference at its session in Scott county, October, 1805, on trial and appointed to the Salt River and

²² *Autobiography of Joseph Tarkington* (with an interesting introduction by Thomas A. Goodwin), 98.

²³ Sweet, *Circuit Rider Days in Indiana*, 8; Holliday, *Indiana Methodism*, 38.

²⁴ Published in full in Sweet's *Rise of Methodism in the West*, 71, seq.

Shelby circuits in the Kentucky conference, with two others. In 1806 he was appointed alone to the Wayne circuit on the Cumberland district, which appears to indicate that he had succeeded so as to do the work without aid.

In 1807, at the conference held in September at Chillicothe, Ohio, Ashworth was admitted into full connection, elected deacon, and at the same session ordained deacon by Bishop Asbury, and he was this year appointed alone to the Silver Creek circuit in Indiana territory. The exact limits of this circuit when first established are not mentioned either by Holliday or Sweet, the latter of whom is authority on early Methodist conference records in the West.²⁵

In 1809 after Ashworth had left Silver Creek circuit it embraced all of the settlements in the southern portion of Indiana territory from the Wabash river up the Ohio to Whitewater circuit.²⁶

In 1807 Silver Creek circuit was in the Kentucky district, and at that time Ashworth was only twenty-four years old.

In 1808 Ashworth was appointed by Bishop Asbury to the Holston circuit in the Holston district. The records of the Cincinnati conference held at Cincinnati, September 30th, 1809, show that Ashworth's name stood upon the conference roll as an active minister, but the minutes show that he had about the beginning of that year located and his name does not further appear in the minutes of the Western conference which held its last session in 1811, and was divided in 1812 into the Ohio and Tennessee conferences.

Cartwright appears frequently in all of the journals of the conferences mentioned, until the last, when he fell into the Tennessee conference.

Holliday describes Ashworth as "The apostle of Methodism in southern Indiana", and says:

Among the agencies honored in the early planting of churches in Indiana, and in carrying forward revival efforts, local preachers and exhorters occupied a prominent place, and are worthy of honorable mention. Many of the former had been traveling preachers, who had been compelled to locate for want of support, and who continued to labor with efficiency. Such was Moses Ashworth, the apostle of Methodism

²⁵ Sweet, *Circuit Rider Days in Indiana*, 8; Holliday, *Indiana Methodism*, 38.

²⁶ William C. Smith, *Indiana Miscellany*, 51.

in southern Indiana. He settled in Posey county, where he labored as a local preacher for a number of years. These located preachers usually acted in concert, and kept up a regular plan of appointments. Of these, Garnett, Wheeler, Schrader, and Ashworth, who labored in Posey, Vanderburg, and adjoining counties, were prominent; and at camp-meetings and two-days meetings they were a power.²⁷

From the rule more or less strictly in force at that early time, which practically operated to locate a circuit rider when he married, it is probable that Ashworth voluntarily located about the first part of the year 1809 because of his marriage not far from that date. The ages of his children show that his marriage was not later than a couple of years from that date. The record of his activity from this date until 1829, when he moved to Posey county, Indiana, I have not been able to find.

He lived in the same county with John Shrader, who located about 1821, and the two men, together with Parrett and Wheeler, worked together during Ashworth's life. Ashworth married Elizabeth Davis in Tennessee, left several children in Tennessee, and several in Posey county. His daughter, Jane Ashworth, married Asbury Claud Jacquess in 1838. He was born in 1783 and died in the year 1838, and is buried in the country grave yard at Prairie Chapel, about two miles from the Wabash river, not far from its junction with the Ohio.²⁸

METHODISM IN EVANSVILLE

The progress of church organizations and building in Evansville was slow both for financial and other reasons. The panic of 1821 lasted a number of years, and affected the entire western country.²⁹ But the progress of religion was slow in the wilderness of this section as it had been in Ken-

²⁷ Holliday, *History of Methodism*, 88; for Holliday's further reference to Wheeler and Parrett as local preachers, see page 240.

²⁸At a meeting of the Methodist Minister's Association held at Indianapolis a short time previous to 1916, the centennial year of Indiana, Rev. C. G. Frietsche, pastor of the Nipert Memorial German M. E. Church, read a paper to be presented to the Indiana Annual Conference, recommending that suitable recognition be given in a memorial to the Rev. Moses Ashworth as the first Methodist preacher appointed to Indiana.

²⁹ Esarey, *History of Indiana*, Vol. I, p. 280.

tucky, which furnished so large a proportion of the population at the beginnings of Indiana and later.³⁰

Rev. Joseph Tarkington, father of John S. Tarkington of Indianapolis, father of Booth Tarkington, travelled the circuit upon which Evansville was a preaching point in 1824, and thus describes Methodism at that time:

Next we went to Evansville, which at that time, 1824, was very sickly. It appeared that half the houses were empty. It had not a schoolhouse or meeting-house. There were not a dozen Methodists in the town. There was an old frame building in which a school was taught, and sometimes preaching had. The quarterly-meeting was held upstairs in a dilapidated frame house. Armstrong preached on Saturday at eleven a. m., and George Randall preached at night. On Sunday, Rev. John Schrader preached, and Armstrong followed; and Rev. O. Fisher, of Boonville, preached at night.

Mr. Warner, who kept the only hotel, a small frame house, said if Armstrong would preach Monday night he could have the hotel dining-room, and Armstrong preached there that night.

Things here looked discouraging; few members, and no leader; the circuit preachers, Revs. W. H. Smith and George Randall, with clothes well worn out.³¹

The boldness of the irreligious element in Evansville in 1838 is illustrated by an account of a sermon preached by the pastor in the Presbyterian church at that time, condemning social immorality when the "worst element" threatened to break up the meeting.³²

In 1839 the presiding elder of the Vincennes district, Rev. John Miller, whom Holliday classes as one of the "fathers", describes the improved condition shown in his district after mentioning the building of Locust Street church, the first Methodist church building erected in Evansville.³³ He says

³⁰ Cotherell, *Pioneer Kentucky*, 241.

³¹ Joseph Tarkington, *Autobiography*, 99.

³² Reilly, *History of Locust Street Church*, 37.

³³ The first Methodist church building erected in Vanderburgh county was built in 1834 in the English settlement in Scott township, north Vanderburgh county. The Presbyterians had built a church in Evansville in 1832 under the ministry of Rev. Calvin Butler, who came as a missionary from New England; an appeal was made by the Evansville trustees to the church east to aid the work which could not be completed without such aid and Mr. Butler executed the commission and procured the necessary funds east. Reilly, *History of Walnut Street Church*, Ch. 2.

In 1831 the Mechanicsville school society and congregation bought a lot in Stringtown, three miles from Evansville, and that year or the next built a building which is still standing. Its charter comprised a union of school

"There is an increasing interest in the erection of chapels and more has been done within the last three years than in the thirty years previous."³⁴

An account of the building and dedication, March 31st, 1839, of the Evansville Methodist church on Locust street, by which name it was called, is thus given in the church paper³⁵ by the pastor, J. H. Bayless, well known in the state later as Dr. Bayless, a prominent divine:

At the hour appointed for the dedication, the house was filled to overflowing. The dedication sermon was preached by Brother Maffitt,³⁶ who had been especially invited for the occasion. His text was the sixth and seventh verses of the second chapter of Haggai. His sermon met the highest expectations of his friends; and to the favorable impression which it made upon the minds of his hearers, may be traced the crowded assemblies and fixed attention which he received during his stay with us. At the conclusion of the sermon a liberal collection was taken up, to assist in liquidating the debts hanging over the building.

Our house is one of the best and neatest churches I have seen in any part of the state. It is sixty feet by forty, with a basement, which is to be divided into smaller rooms. Its cost was between five and six thousand dollars. This amount of money has been so expended as to avoid the appearance of extravagance on the one hand, and meanness on the other. Some attention has been paid to its external appearance, so that it stands an ornament to the town. Care has been taken that its internal arrangements should be neat and comfortable. The pulpit, altar, and aisles are all neatly carpeted. Thus erected, furnished, and arranged, it was dedicated to God; and it was soon evident that He accepted the offering at the hands of His people; for He came down in the midst in great power; and filled the house with His glory. Such was the interest evinced in the subject of religion, that our meeting was protracted nine days. Brother Maffitt, notwithstanding his feeble health, labored with us night and day, with great success; our altar being continually crowded by such as were inquiring what they should do to be saved; most of whom,

and church trusts in one building, which was called a meeting-house and used for school and church purposes both, until some twenty years ago a new brick school building left the old one for church uses exclusively. The Indiana law of 1831 was so framed for a society too poor to build and maintain buildings for church purposes alone. *Acts of 1831*, 480.

³⁴ *Western Christian Advocate*, March 29th, 1839.

³⁵ *Western Christian Advocate*, May 3, 1839.

³⁶ Rev. John Newland Maffitt was at this time one of the celebrated pulpit orators of the west, who also did work as an evangelist. An interesting description of him is given by his friend Milburn, the blind man eloquent. Maffitt died in Milburn's pulpit while preaching in Mobile. W. H. Milburn, *The Lance, Cross and Canoe*, 381; Tarkington, *Autobiography*, 135.

ere our meetings were over, were enabled to set to their seals that God is true. About one hundred and forty persons applied for admission into the church, and we presume about the same number were converted to God.

There is every reason to believe that Shrader, Wheeler and Parrett, were present at the dedication of Locust Street church, as local preachers, as they lived in Vanderburgh and Posey counties at the time.

In 1848 Rev. Thomas A. Goodwin, the first graduate of Asbury University at Green Castle, was sent to Locust street, Evansville, and in 1908 he published a letter³⁷ giving an interesting picture of the church and the people:

EVANSVILLE METHODISM IN 1848.

By Rev. T. A. Goodwin, D.D.

That Sunday devoted to the old folks in Trinity church, Evansville, Ind., must have been an enjoyable occasion. At first I could not repress the wish that some one had thought of inviting me, the oldest living pastor of that church. But why should I? Only one man, so far as I know, yet lives who was a member in October, 1848, when I became pastor of the only Methodist Episcopal church in the then little city, and it was not a charge to be much desired at that. There were less than two hundred members, and some of these lived three miles in the country. The church was large enough for the congregation; but it was dingy inside and out, and approached from the street by uncovered wooden steps, too rickety to be safe; and it was encumbered by a debt of \$75 for wood and oil and janitor's services, which could not be repudiated, as I learned at the first official meeting, and an unpaid balance of more than \$100 to my immediate predecessor, Rev. William V. Daniel, which no one thought of paying. He had received \$193, out of which he paid \$40 house-rent.

The stewards had provided the same house for me, and my goods were taken from the steamboat to it, although I had notified them that I would not live in it. I told them I never had lived in such a house, and I did not think I would ever have to. Whereupon one, more outspoken than the others, quoted the *Discipline* at me, which

³⁷ *Western Christian Advocate*. Dr. Goodwin was a brilliant young preacher; was, according to his own statement and credible historians, so discriminated against by the presiding elders in favor of the uneducated ministers as to compel him to locate. He became one of the leading local preachers of America in his writings and influence. I knew him intimately in his later years, and doubt somewhat the judgment of some of his clerical contemporaries that he made a mistake in locating from active work. Sweet, *Circuit Rider Days*, 76. Tarkington, *Autobiography*, introduction by Goodwin, 15, 16.

said that a preacher that would not live in the house provided for him should have no "allowance" for house-rent. But a better house was soon found at \$75 a year, and my "allowance" was made to cover it—\$216 quarterage, \$75 house-rent, and \$109 table expenses, if they could raise it, making in all \$400.

The first thing was to liquidate that debt for fuel and light and janitor's services. Next came new steps outside, and whitewashing and painting within; and they seemed surprised that they could meet such drains upon their purses and live. But this was not all done at once. It took six months or more, and when conference came the entire "allowance" had been paid, with a surplus of \$75 in what was known as the "Blackbag collection," which was donated to me as a compliment for having taught them how to raise the money—the largest salary they had ever paid, and the first time they had ever paid up in full; and I have been informed that they never since have failed to pay in full all claims.

As all other departments of the work—Sunday school, prayer meetings, congregations, and accessions—were about in the same proportion, I may be permitted to tell the secret of my success in each and all. I had not gone far in my reconnaissance before I discovered the need of an assistant pastor. I visited from house to house, but I could not visit every family every week. I found in the entire charge only five *Western Christian Advocates*. One of them came to me, one to the presiding elder, one to a local preacher, and two to two of the stewards. I began at once to put a copy of the paper in every family. I knew it would require work, but that was what I was there for, but before the ensuing May I had succeeded, except in two families. One of these preferred the *New York Advocate*, and one the *Zion's Herald*, and I allowed them their choice. In doing this, in several cases I got two, and in one case three, poor families to join, and in two or three cases of widows with large families I got small contributions from some brethren, who began to love to give since they had found they could. And now, in the quiet evening of life, there is no part of the work of my manhood's prime that seems to have yielded such returns as the days and hours that I devoted to persuading men and women to take good papers, and buy and read good books. In some cases it took much persuading. For more than a quarter of a century it was common for Judge Iglehart and others to refer to my two years' pastorate in Evansville as the turning-point in Methodism in that city. The good reading that I put in the hands of young and old was the principal instrument in that result.

It is dangerous to start an old man on reminiscing; he never knows when to stop. These recollections of the long ago call to mind the kind of singing we had then. We lined the hymns, of course, and then anybody "pitched the tune" that could. There were three who took it in turn about; that is, if they could get a chance. Each in his haste to get in his work ahead of the others would sometimes pitch too high or too low, or try to make a long-meter tune fit a

common-meter hymn. About this time Asa Iglehart, a young lawyer who knew how to sing, moved into our city. Our method grieved him much, and he proposed that I give him the hymns in advance, and invite all who could sing to meet Saturday nights at his house and rehearse. To have proposed a choir would have smashed things. After the first announcement, I added: "Now, if you don't go and learn how to sing, I will lead the singing myself." John Ingle came to me after the benediction and said with emphasis: "They'll go. If anything on earth would induce them, that threat to lead the singing yourself will do it." They went, and that is the genesis of the unsurpassed chorus choir for which the church was afterwards famous. How it is now I do not know; but I shall know hereafter if they will let me know when they hold their next old people's meeting.

About the year 1851, through the aid of Locust Street as the mother church, a new church was built on Ingle street, Evansville. Later under another name, now known as Central M. E. church, a large building was built on Mary and Franklin streets by the same congregation and is a flourishing church.

In 1861, under the pastorate of Dr. S. T. Gillett, a great revival of religion occurred in Evansville in Locust Street church, and at this time the lot was purchased upon which, in 1867, was completed and dedicated a large church building at a cost of \$85,000, and the trustees and membership of Locust Street church changed the name of their corporation and church to Trinity and moved into the new building now recognized as the mother church of Methodism in Evansville, which traces its beginning a century ago to the meeting at Hugh McGary's double log warehouse, which we celebrate today.

In tracing the direct influence of John Shrader upon the life of the people of this part of Indiana, it may be said that Trinity church is probably now the greatest single religious and moral force in Methodism in southwestern Indiana and that it is one of the greatest moral and religious forces of all denominations in southern Indiana.

Trinity M. E. church, Evansville, has about 1,000 members. Central M. E. church has about 700 members, with the largest Sunday school in Evansville and southern Indiana, including a membership of about 1,500 with an average attendance of 750 or greater. Bayard Park M. E. church ab-

sorbed a small church called Kingsley church, to which was taken about 100 members from Trinity church, and a large church building with a parsonage was built in the residence portion of the city, and is now one of the leading churches of the city and has a membership of about 600. The organization and building of this church was under the direction of Trinity church.

Simpson developed from a mission on Pennsylvania street, and is now a vigorous church on the west side, with a membership of about 800 members.

Wesley, originally a mission from Trinity church, is a flourishing church with about 400 members. Howell M. E. church, originally a mission of Trinity church, is a flourishing church with about 350 members. This church is now planning to build.

St. James has a membership of about 110 members.

Fifth Avenue has a membership of about 90 members. All of these churches, except Fifth Avenue, own parsonages.

There are in Evansville approximately 4,000 members of the Methodist church, with a constituency of about 10,000 people, including members. The membership of the Methodist churches in the Evansville district of the Indiana conference, which embraces the counties in the first congressional district of Indiana, is 14,000, with a constituency estimated at not less than 35,000 people.

When Trinity succeeded Locust Street church in 1867, after several years in building, it became the central force among Methodist churches in southwestern Indiana. Among its leaders, without whom it could not have been built, or maintained, as it was, were a number of members of four families of pioneer origin, whose history is a part of the growth of Methodism in Vanderburgh, Posey and Warrick counties, and who were likewise commonwealth builders of Indiana, worthy of more extended mention than I am able to give them.

At that time, and continuously since then, from one-fourth to one-third of the official board of that church, composing all its various officers, have been members of these families, Jaquess, Wheeler, Ingle and Iglehart. The pastor in charge during the laborious work of building Trinity church, Albion

Fellows, who gave his life to the work, was by marriage a member of one of them. One of them, of the second generation of native ministers in Vanderburgh county, Ferdinand C. Iglehart, filled a full term as pastor of the church. More than half of the entire period mentioned these families have furnished the superintendent of the Sunday school.

THE JAQUESS FAMILY

This was a Posey county family and was represented in Evansville Methodism by Jonathan Jaquess, the third, and his brother William B., who controlled the leading wholesale dry goods house there of Jaquess Brothers & Company, both leaders in building and sustaining the church, the latter for many years superintendent of the Sunday school. The following sketch of this family is furnished by Mr. George J. Waters of Poseyville.

Prominent in early Methodism in southern Indiana, was Jonathan J. Jaquess who came to Indiana from Kentucky in 1815. He was born in New Jersey in 1753 and served in the American Revolution under Colonel Sheldon, commander of the 7th New Jersey regiment, afterwards known as the Light Horse brigade. He moved to Kentucky settling near Cynthiana, and in September, 1815, with his family, consisting of himself and wife and nine children, viz: Garreston, George, John Wesley, Ogden, Fletcher, Asbury, Elizabeth, Permelia and Rebecca, together with other relatives, came to Indiana and settled in Posey county near what is now the town of Poseyville where he acquired a large body of land. That he was a man of deep religious conviction is very evident from the names he gave his children, most of them being named for prominent churchmen or Bible characters. He was originally a member of the Episcopal church and it is related of him that upon taking leave of his old home in New Jersey he called upon his rector and, stating to him the fact that there was no church of his own denomination where he was going, asked that he suggest a church with which he might unite. His rector told him that there were no better people than the Methodists and suggested that he unite with that church.

It was not long after this little colony reached Indiana that a church society was formed, for John Shrader, in a letter written February 24th, 1876, says:

In the autumn of 1815 the first class was formed in this part of Posey county by Amos King at the residence of Jonathan Jaquess and consisted of Jonathan Jaquess and Rebecca, his wife, and Katherine Rankin, their daughter-in-law. During the same autumn Rebecca and Amelia, daughters of Jonathan Jaquess, and Anna Gale were added to the number.

This was the beginning of the Methodist church in Poseyville, now known as Saint Paul's M. E. church.

All of the children of Jonathan Jaquess eventually became members of the Methodist church, and the early records of the church at Poseyville disclose the fact that some were officially connected covering a period of many years. It appears that from the organization up to and including the present time, some of his descendants have been officially connected with it. John Shrader served as its pastor about the year 1821, and it was while he was serving this charge that he met and later married Permelia Jaquess, October 9, 1821.

The Jaquess family were liberal contributors toward the establishment of Asbury university and it was through the contribution of John Wesley Jaquess that a scholarship in that institution was awarded James F. Jaquess, his nephew, who graduated in the first class in the year 1845. 1847 James F. Jaquess founded Jacksonville female college and was its first president, serving in that capacity seven years. In 1856 he was elected president of Quincy college, Quincy, Illinois, which position he occupied for five years, achieving distinguished service. He organized and commanded the 73rd Illinois regiment and was commissioned by Lincoln in 1864 to perform a hazardous and important mission to Richmond where he interviewed Jefferson Davis with a view to bringing about peace between the north and south. Rev. William Stevenson, former chaplain of the 8th Missouri regiment and for fifty-six years a member of the Illinois conference, in a letter to the Rushville (Illinois) *Daily Citizen*, a few years ago, stated that the idea of the Grand Army of the Republic first originated with Col. Jaquess, Rev. William

Rutledge and Rev. J. S. Cromwell. Rev. John D. Kruwell, who was pastor of The Kumler M. E church at Springfield, Illinois, in an article published in the *Christian Advocate* in 1909, at which time there was some discussion as to Lincoln's religion, relates that at a reunion of the 73rd Illinois regiment held at Springfield, September 28 and 29, 1897, on which occasion Col. Jaquess delivered the principal address, he made the statement that Lincoln was converted while he was pastor of the First M. E. church at Springfield, setting forth in detail the circumstances of the incident. The church stood on the site now occupied by the Ridgway national bank.³⁸

William B. Jaquess and Jonathan S. Jaquess, brothers of James F. Jaquess, were pioneer wholesale merchants of the city of Evansville, and were identified with numerous industrial enterprises of the city. They are remembered by the older citizens of Evansville as men of excellent character and prominent churchmen.

Dr. George D. Jaquess, another brother, was surgeon of the 80th Indiana regiment and shortly after the Civil war located in Helena, Arkansas, where he became prominent in business circles and was several times elected mayor of the city. Still another brother, Thomas C. Jaquess, was for many years engaged in mercantile pursuits in the town of Poseyville and acquired large land interests. He was elected to the state senate from the district composed of Posey and Vanderburg counties in 1866 where he achieved considerable distinction as legislator and a leader of his party.

Asbury C. Jaquess, the youngest son of Jonathan Jaquess, was a fine type of American citizen. He had the instincts of a true country gentleman; refined in manner, with an appreciation of good literature and progressive in his tendencies. He was the first in his section of the country to install a self-binder and the first to put into successful operation a system of tile drainage. Much of the early history of the Jaquess

³⁸ The incident referred to is found in Appendix III, pp. 241, 309 *et seq.* in *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln*, by Wm. E. Barton, recently published, copying an article from the N. Y. *Christian Advocate* of Nov. 11, 1909. William B. Jaquess, the brother of Dr. James F. Jaquess, referred to in the article, I knew personally well, and his character for integrity and truth were of the highest.

family has been compiled from his journal and numerous notes.

William Jaquess, a Presbyterian minister of Detroit, Michigan, is a son of Jonathan S. Jaquess. Jonathan Jaquess and the little colony which he headed left their impress on this part of Indiana. Their descendants as a rule have been sturdy, honorable and progressive citizens to which fact the community now bears witness. Many of them left the confines of the original settlement and cast their lots in various parts of the United States, some achieving distinction in local and state affairs. At a reunion of the Jaquess family held on the old homestead in September, 1915, celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of their coming to Indiana, there were present several hundred descendants, representing many states.

THE WHEELERS

Joseph Wheeler the local preacher, whose history is fully recorded in local history,³⁹ was represented in Trinity church by his son, Edward E. Wheeler, wholesale grocer, and his descendants live in Evansville. His son, Joseph Wheeler, Jr., was a prominent merchant in Evansville, and left descendants including Miss Mary Wheeler, a granddaughter.

The daughters of Joseph Wheeler were Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, who died in Washington, Indiana, leaving a family; Mrs. Daniel S. Lane, wife of one of the leading physicians of Evansville, who left descendants in Evansville; Mrs. Ann Goslee, who died in Evansville, leaving among her descendants the late Tillie Goslee, who was the first public librarian in Evansville, one of the best known and greatly beloved personalities in Evansville, who continued in active work until her death in 1920; also Mr. James Goslee, who married Kate Jaquess, daughter of Jonathan Jaquess the third, and whose descendants are representatives of both the Wheelers and the Jaquess family; Mrs. Joseph P. Elliott, wife of the author of Elliott's History of Evansville and Vanderburgh county. She left, among other descendants, Mary Louise Erskine, widow of Levi Erskine.⁴⁰

³⁹ Elliott, *History Vanderburgh County*, 238; *History Vanderburgh County*, 280.

⁴⁰ Mrs. Erskine as a very small child was the first organist of Locust

Mark Wheeler, brother of Rev. Joseph Wheeler, followed him from London to North Vanderburgh county in the English settlement in 1822, and became a leader in Methodism, at whose house for years before a church was built, religious services and the first class meeting in that section were held.⁴¹ His wife died at Marietta, Ohio, from the hardships of the journey down the Ohio river in the emigration.⁴² Later he married Sarah Ingle Cowle, sister of John Ingle of Saundersville, and after her death he married Elizabeth, daughter of Levi Igleheart, Sr., of Warrick county. Of the later marriage were a daughter and a son, Robert, whose son, Mark Wheeler, is a lieutenant-colonel in the regular army U. S. A.

Mark Wheeler's son, William, entered the travelling ministry of the M. E. church at an early day, and died in the work. His son, Henry Wheeler, of Scott township, Vanderburgh county, was a local Methodist minister, who during his long life preached in the country churches with acceptability. Henry Wheeler left among other descendants a son, Walton M. Wheeler, of the Evansville bar, and grandchildren, children of Saunders and Lucy Wheeler Hornbrook, among whom are Col. James Hornbrook of the 17th U. S. cavalry, and Henry Hallam Hornbrook of the Indianapolis bar.

Mark Wheeler's daughter, Eliza, married a son of John Ingle of Saundersville, James Ingle, also a Methodist minister, and their descendants, children of their son, the late Mark Wheeler Ingle, live in Philadelphia.

Mark Wheeler's step-son, John Cowle, entered the active ministry of the Methodist church, and died in the work.⁴³ His step-daughter, Ann Cowle, married Asa Igleheart of Warrick county.

Street church, and remembers the incident of the introduction of the organ into the church, which produced great commotion under which some of the leading members of the church left it and never returned.

⁴¹ *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. 15, pp. 157-8.

⁴² For a beautiful description of a similar incident in the early emigration see James Hall, *Legends of the West*, 313.

⁴³ For an account of the rise of the first native ministry in southwestern Indiana, which came largely from the Wheeler and Ingle families, see English Settlement in Indiana, *Indiana Magazine of History*, v. 15, pp. 140, 159, 160. To this should be added members of the Jaquess family in Posey County, of which John Shrader was by marriage a member, and in which he exercised great influence at a very early period.

THE INGLES

This family appears the most prominently of all others in Faux, *Travels*. Faux lived at Somersham, Huntingdonshire, England, had been a boyhood friend of John Ingle (2nd), known in Vanderburgh county as John Ingle of Saundersville to distinguish him from his son, John Ingle, Jr., who from 1840 until the close of the Civil war, was the leading man in Vanderburgh county, and so far as my knowledge goes, in southwestern Indiana as a commonwealth builder.

John Ingle, a Baptist minister of Somersham, frequently referred to by Faux as the patriarch, kept Faux's butler and took charge of his business in England for more than a year, upon the promise of the latter to visit the former's son, John Ingle of Saundersville in Indiana, when he came to America and after traveling a year in the Atlantic coast states in November, 1819, Faux came from Philadelphia, eight hundred miles, due west, and spent seven weeks in the English settlement, in Vanderburgh county, visiting with Ingle, who introduced him to the leaders of the New Harmony settlement and the Edwards county, Illinois, English settlement of Birkbeck and Flower, of the last two of whom he writes with most indiscreet freedom. The monotony and hardships of pioneer life, the beginnings of life anew in the wilderness, without servants and without the necessaries of English life, to which Faux had been accustomed, the second year of Ingle's life in America, so overpowered Faux's judgment as to present in his diary a picture almost hopeless, but it was only a short time after he returned to England that the resources of the land and the country yielded a more comfortable living, and the dire forebodings of Faux were never realized, and John Ingle of Saundersville lived until the last quarter of the century, to become the head of a large, prominent, and successful family. Two of his sons, James and William Ingle, became members of the first native pioneer Methodist ministry, who though baptised as children in England in the Baptist faith, joined the Methodist church under the leadership of the Wheelers, Parrett, Shrader and others before the

⁴⁴ Thwaite, *Early Western Travels*, Vol. XI, 240.

Baptist church was established in their locality. James Ingle married Eliza, daughter of Mark Wheeler, and the descendants of William Ingle live in this section, including the children of Frank Staser.

The oldest of the children of John Ingle of Saundersville was a son known in the history of Evansville and southwestern Indiana as John Ingle, Jr. He was born in 1812 in Somersham, England, but reared in the wilderness. His education in the schools was limited, but his natural ability, high ideals, and the training in the life of a pioneer developed so many qualities of leadership as to make a remarkable history, and his active life is bound up in the history of Evansville. He was in his seventh year when he left England, and had already had one year in a "dame" school, and his father took a standard English newspaper as long as he lived, and when Ingle came to manhood, after learning the cabinet-maker's trade in Stringtown and travelling through the states along the river to New Orleans, he sailed for Philadelphia, where he studied law at night and earned his living by work during the day.

He had, therefore, the view of the old world civilization, as well as of the Atlantic coast states, when he returned in 1838 to Evansville. He then began law practice with James Lockhart, one of the strong characters of the time, and after remaining with him a year, became a partner of Judge Battell, one of the prominent citizens of Evansville from the beginning. With Judge Battell, his partner, and later alone in the practice, he became one of the leaders of the Evansville bar, and travelled the circuit, and is mentioned in the local histories of other counties in the circuit, and he had a large and valuable practice. He held for a time the office of prosecuting attorney. After Judge Battell retired in 1846, Horatio Q. Wheeler was admitted to Mr. Ingle's office as a student or young lawyer. A year later Wheeler became his partner, and in 1849 Asa Iglehart entered the firm then known as Ingle, Wheeler and Iglehart.

John Ingle, Jr., was the only man in Evansville who saw the future in a railroad, and knew how and was able to give the time to organize, promote, and build it and lead in its operation. Other men, equally prominent in other individual

work, aided in many ways, but no one else was so active and influential in all of that work as a whole. He was a charter member of the Evansville & Illinois railroad company, organized under a special charter, later known as the Evansville & Crawfordsville railroad company and still later as the Evansville & Terre Haute railroad company, which later became consolidated with the Chicago & Eastern Illinois Railroad company. In 1853 the railroad was completed to Pigeon creek, then to Princeton, then to Vincennes, later to Terre Haute, and still later, under the administration of John Ingle as its president, extended to Rockville. This was the first railroad in southwestern Indiana south of Vincennes and west of Louisville. The first president of the railroad was Judge Hall of Princeton, who was a man of high character, had been circuit judge, was engaged in other affairs, and was chosen by the directors to that office, but it is said by one of the historians that Ingle rescued the railroad enterprise, which was struggling when the city was poor, and when the men who had undertaken its beginning were exhausted and powerless, and that by his energy, persistence and fidelity he completed the railroad and managed its affairs with superior skill during his executive control; that the railroad enjoyed immunity from accident, as no other railroad in the country; and that he ran no trains on Sunday upon religious and conscientious grounds.⁴⁵

John Ingle was the first secretary and the superintendent of the railroad, and had charge of the contracts for building, and was most active in the purchase of the rails first used in the building, and went to England to buy them. The city of Evansville and county of Vanderburgh each subscribed \$100,000.00, with which money the rails were bought, which finished the road to Pigeon creek. This event was one of supreme importance to Evansville, and was celebrated by a general holiday and an excursion to Pigeon creek on flat cars used as passenger coaches, which fact is still remembered by

⁴⁵ *Ency. of Biography of Indiana*, by George Irving Reed (1895), page 227. In this sketch is found the tribute of the editor and proprietor of Graham, *Magazine* paid to his friend Ingle after his death. See also interesting article on John Ingle, Jr., by Mr. Thomas James de la Hunt, *Evansville Courier*, November 28, 1920, referring to Graham Essay dedicated to Ingle in Graham *Magazine* for March, 1851, v. 38, p. 279.

some of the oldest citizens. Public meetings were held before the election and opposition developed to such an innovation as a railroad, with a heavy tax to aid in the building of it, and some very absurd objections were urged against it, but John Ingle's humor and sarcasm in public advocacy of the improvement, particularly in his speech at the great meeting in the courthouse at Evansville just before the election, carried the public by storm.⁴⁶

John Ingle soon became president of the railroad, and remained such as long as his health permitted, for about twenty years, living to see that railroad the greatest single factor other than the Ohio river in the development of Evansville into a modern city.

He was the first president and most active promoter of the first telegraph line established south of Vincennes and west of Louisville, the local electric telegraph line into Evansville, the daily paper of which until then obtained its latest news irregularly from the newspapers of Louisville, at least two days old.

He was the pioneer in the coal mining industry in this part of southwestern Indiana. He was active in the organization of an English syndicate to open the first coal mine in this section. With his father, John Ingle of Saundersville, joint owner in a large tract of land adjoining and below Evansville, joining with him, he made a 999 year lease for a coal mine to this syndicate upon his own land, surrounding what was later known as Coal Mine hill, adjoining Evansville on the west; this syndicate sank the first shaft for a coal mine in this section. When the machinery and operations of a non-resident syndicate were too cumbersome to succeed, John Ingle purchased the lease and invested his own money in promoting the mining of coal, and under the management of his oldest son, John Ingle, Jr., in the name of John Ingle & Son, developed the mine successfully. After the death of John Ingle, Jr., his children, in the name of John Ingle & Company, and later as the John Ingle Coal Company, a corporation, developed the mine until in recent years the coal gave out and the lease was abandoned for that reason.

⁴⁶ Elliott, *History*, 401.

Later another son of John Ingle, Jr., David Ingle (who at his death left a fine farming estate and coal mining interests at Ayrshire in Pike county) one of the most successful coal mine operators of Southern Indiana, re-organized the old Bodiam mine property in the name of the Ingle Coal Company, a corporation, and from the old shaft opened entries under the Ohio river into Kentucky, from which coal was long successfully mined through the original shaft.

James Moore and John Archbold, as well as other successful mine operators in and near Evansville, had their first lessons in the business as employees of John Ingle & Company. Equally prominent as a coal operator, as was his father, the late David Ingle, is David Ingle, Jr., a citizen of Evansville, grandson of John Ingle, Jr.

John Ingle, Jr., was active with others in the promotion of the building of the Wabash & Erie canal, through to Evansville from Lake Erie. When the first boat came through from Lake Erie to Evansville,⁴⁷ a great celebration of all the people was had and John Ingle was chosen to make the address of the occasion.

He was active as the first president and leader in instituting Evansville's first public library, and served as president and director for twenty years, aiding in its support by lecturing in Evansville, as well as in other ways.

He was, for all of his active life, a leader in Methodism. He was Sunday school superintendent of Locust Street church, later Trinity Methodist church, for nearly twenty years. He was president of the board of trustees of Asbury (now DePauw) University for a number of years, a post recognized as held by men of ability and prominence of that church in the state. When the public school system of Indiana was first established by law under the new constitution of 1852, it was no accident that the man so well-fitted, then chosen for leadership in the public school work in Evansville, was Horatio Q. Wheeler, a young lawyer, junior partner of John Ingle, a member of the firm of Ingle, Wheeler & Iglehart.

⁴⁷ When this boat reached a point about 12 miles north of Evansville, the motive power, consisting of a mule, gave out, and Levi Iglehart, Jr., who lived on a farm not far from the canal furnished an ox-team to pull the boat into Evansville.

Mr. Wheeler was most wisely selected for that work, and became generally known as the father of the public school system of Evansville. From the beginning of our public school system until Horatio Q. Wheeler resigned as superintendent and managing trustee of the public school system to become the president of the old First national bank of Evansville, the school management of Evansville was known among some of the western teachers as the management of Yankee school teachers. In the selection of school trustee to co-operate with Mr. Wheeler, there were chosen Phillip Hornbrook, also a pioneer from the Saundersville-English settlement then living in Evansville, and William Hughes, a brother-in-law of John Ingle, Jr., a leading citizen and a representative of the Catholic church element in our public schools.

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Local history of Evansville records the incident how John Ingle, Jr., with his foot, overturned an open barrel full of whiskey on election day, from which whiskey was being served, free, in tincups, in front of the court house on Main street in Evansville, the only polling place in the town at that time.⁴⁸ He was sued for the value of the whiskey.

As the leader of the English element which had now extended throughout the county, early in the 40's, he established communication by correspondence between the emigrants in America and their relatives in England. This continued for many years in the sending of money to aid friends in England, to come to America, and facilitated the extensive emigration in the 40's and 50's from England and Ireland to Vanderburgh county, and the city of Evansville; this work, a primitive bureau of emigration, so established by John Ingle, Jr., was continued by his partners after he retired from the law to go into railroading.

In the history of the English settlement in Edwards county, Illinois, George Flower, then living at Mt. Vernon, Indiana, speaks of John Ingle (of Saundersville) and his family coming over with him in his ship in 1818 and says "Mr. Ingle is living (1860) near Evansville, and his son,

⁴⁸ Elliott, 402.

John Ingle, Jr., is a prominent professional man engaged in all the public business of the city."

This statement was substantially true. Another historian says that during his residence of nearly sixty years in Evansville his life was interwoven with the corporate existence of the city and worn out in promoting the welfare of the people by developing the resources of the country, improving the condition of commerce.⁴⁹ And it may be added in promoting the intellectual, moral and religious welfare of the community. His patriotism during the Civil war was active, intense and earnest. He held up the hands of Oliver P. Morton, the great governor. He was one of the few men in whose counsel the governor implicitly trusted and on whom he relied in times of great peril to the state. At that time Evansville was a place of great importance in the conduct by the government of the Civil war.

The railroad under Ingle's management reached the terminal point of operations, particularly for supplies of men and munitions to western Kentucky, Ft. Donelson, Nashville and the lower Mississippi, in which Morton took so active a part.⁵⁰ When the national government could not furnish powder to prosecute war in the west, Morton operated a factory in the name of the state upon borrowed money on his own credit when a disloyal Legislature adjourned without appropriation and his enemies threatened to impeach him for improper use of state authority, but as there happened to be a profit in the manufacture of powder there was no excuse to attempt to carry out the threat.

It was during this period that John Ingle, Jr., in charge of the Evansville & Terre Haute railroad, extending from Terre Haute to Evansville, on the Ohio river, practically the head of navigation at that time for war purposes in this section, co-operated in every possible way with Governor Morton in the prosecution of the war.

His moral character and reputation were without blemish

⁴⁹ George Irving Reed, *Ency. of Biography of Indiana*, Vol. 1, 227.

⁵⁰ It is part of the history of Oliver P. Morton that during the darkest days of the Civil War, that Morton had 5,000 men in camp at Indianapolis, whom he sent by rail to Kentucky for defense of Kentucky when the Federal government was unable to furnish them. Foulke, *Life of Morton*, v. 1, 143.

in the community in which he spent his life.⁵¹ He was liberal in the advocacy and support of all that was uplifting and good in the community. In public charity and benevolence he was liberal to the full limit of his ability, always a leader, and his pastor said of him at his funeral that he always carried with him an order from John Ingle, Jr., for a load of coal for the suffering poor, but he was not permitted to give the name of the donor. He ranked with the best and foremost men of the community. It is doubtful if any other man of his time, the formative period of the growth of Evansville into a city, was so active and successful in the promotion of public interests and enterprises in so many varying channels of labor and influence as John Ingle, Jr. He left a large family.

Among his descendants were John Ingle, Jr., Jr., who continued the coal business after his father's death as he had managed it during his father's lifetime as an aid to his father. He was a pioneer in the development of the first fleet of tugs, boats and coal barges at Evansville, supplying the coal trade especially to steamboats and river crafts. These had a regular landing place for coal at the dump at the mine at the foot of Coal Mine hill, the first hill on the river west of Evansville; sometimes boats anchored or were supplied in mid-stream with barges attached, from which coal was unloaded.

For many years he was the controlling spirit in the coal trade of Evansville, following the inspiration of his father. While he was the leader in this trade, he never permitted a raise in prices of coal in Evansville when an opportunity occurred and other dealers demanded it; this was frequently the fact in river towns when ice or low water suspended river navigation and cut off the Pittsburgh and Green River coal supply temporarily. Especially the poor were cared for in such emergency. He was as a young man, a social leader in the community with a keen relish for humor which enlivened every circle in which he moved.

President Harrison appointed John Ingle, Jr., Jr., over

⁵¹The obituary of John Ingle, Jr., by George R. Graham, proprietor of Graham's Magazine, who studied law with Ingle in his youth in Philadelphia, is a delightful tribute to the character of the man. Reed, *Ency. Biography Indiana*, v. 1, p. 227; *Evansville and its Men of Mark*, 203; Elliott, *History of Vanderburgh County*, 399; *History of Vanderburgh County* (B. & F.), 78, 154.

many competitors, supervisor inspector of steam vessels for the seventh federal district, embracing Ohio river and tributaries between Louisville and Memphis, a post which he filled with ability for four years. Later, on account of his health, he was given the choice of a post at the Soo, in charge of the government reservation, where he remained until his death.

His son, John Ingle (5th), a New York city lawyer, lives at Bloomfield, New Jersey with his wife, Ann Iglehart Ingle, each of whom, with a son, John Ingle (6th), is descended from a common ancestor, John Ingle, the patriarch of Somersham.

THE PARRETTTS

Rev. Robert Parrett was of English parentage. He was born in England, February 14, 1791, was properly educated for a curacy and later a benefice in the church of England, but his liberal trend of mind carried him to the doctrines of John Wesley. With his family he emigrated to the United States about 1816, and remained for a short time in New Jersey, and in 1819, having moved to Indiana, he located at or near Blairsville in Posey county, about ten miles west of Saundersville on the western edge of the British settlement. He began an active promulgation of his religious views and convictions. He also settled to the task of pioneer farmer, for a living, and became an integral part of the English settlement, centering in Vanderburgh county.

Immediately upon his first arrival in Indiana, John Shrader discovered him, as also the Wheelers, who arrived the same year, and enlisted him in the work of the beginnings of Methodism, which continued until his death in 1860. In 1825 he moved to Evansville and entered or purchased a farm of 160 acres lying immediately adjoining, on the south and east of, Evansville, reaching nearly to the point where Washington avenue, one of the main streets of the city, is now located.

His work in preaching and in the ministry was more in Vanderburgh than in Posey county. He was more distinctively than any other older prominent members of the English settlement connected with the foundation and growth of Evansville. No man of the first generation in the beginning

of Evansville and Vanderburgh county was more prominent in its local affairs, as well as its religious work, than Robert Parrett. He gave attention to business and practical affairs in farming, as well as various means of livelihood. At the time of his death, in 1860, he still retained a large proportion of the land originally acquired by him, so that his descendants received directly the benefit of his foresight and wisdom in his investments in land, and through that alone he left to them a substantial fortune.

His daughters all married men of standing and influence in the community at an early day, and no family among the pioneers was more influential and took greater part in the upbuilding of the entire community in every way than the family of Robert Parrett.

Treating as a single family, the descendants of Robert Parrett, among his sons, especially Judge William F. Parrett, who was for thirty years circuit judge on the circuit, and also congressman from the First district of Indiana, and his daughter, Mary Ann, wife of John S. Hopkins, Sarah, wife of Rev. Reed, Martha, wife of Rufus Roberts of Warrick county, Jane, wife of Alva Johnson, then of Warrick county, later of Evansville, and Eva, wife of Union Bethel of Newburgh, there was no more influential and greater family in the beginnings of Evansville in this section, the influence of which still exists, than that of Robert Parrett.

The Parretts and the Wheelers were men cast in the same mould, highly educated for the time, bringing with them in the wilderness English culture and the stern principles of right, truth and morality, which were taught in the doctrines and life of John Wesley.

Joseph Wheeler was less devoted to practical affairs, had less opportunity for acquiring wealth, and did not live in Evansville until his children were married and had moved away from him. His call was to the ministry alone, although he was prevented from entering the traveling ministry as he desired.

The character of Robert Parrett as the founder of Methodism in Evansville is properly treated in local history.⁵²

⁵² Riley, *History of Walnut Street Church*, 19; *History of Vanderburgh County*, B. & F., page 280; Elliott, *History*, 237.

It is doubtful if any two men of the time of which I speak had greater opportunity for performing, without pay, a duty to the public offered to Father Parrett and Father Wheeler in Evansville and Vanderburgh county, which was more ably, effectively and cheerfully embraced than was by each of them. The influence of these men upon the religious growth both of the county and of the city cannot be measured; upon these two men more than anyone else, during a long period of time, the community relied implicitly for religious services when they were not able to obtain them in any other way. Robert Farrett was never an office seeker, but in 1858 was elected county commissioner, and held the office at the time of his death.

Among other of his descendants are the members of the large and influential family of John S. Hopkins and Mary Ann, his wife, among whom were the late John H. Foster, for nine years judge of the superior court of Vanderburgh county and for two terms congressman from the First congressional district, and nephew of the late John W. Foster; Alva J. Rucker, grandson of Jane and Alva Johnson, re-elected prosecuting attorney at Indianapolis on a reform platform; Union Bethel, son of Eva and Union Bethel, who during the late war, as the head of the government operations of telegraph lines in the United States, was holding a position of national importance.

Edward O. Hopkins, the youngest son of Mary Ann and John S. Hopkins, was a man of large inherited ability and one of the most prominent railroad men of this section. He was vice-president and general manager of the P. D. & E. railway company, now a part of the Illinois Central system, and of the L. E. & St. L. Ry. Co., now a part of the Southern railway system. He was associated with David J. Mackey in the Mackey system of railroading, and in the panic of 1891 and 1892, when a majority of the railroads of the country went into the hands of a receiver, he was appointed receiver for both of the above named railroads, and administered them as an officer of the federal courts until the properties were sold and became merged in great trunk lines.

THE IGLEHARTS⁵³

Levi Igleheart, Sr., (1786-1856) was baptized, reared and married in the Episcopal church of Tidewater, Maryland, in 1815 came with his wife and small family to Ohio county, Kentucky, where his sons, Asa and Levi, Jr., were born and in 1823 moved to Warrick county, Indiana, where he settled in the wilderness and made a clearing and built a log cabin, where he lived the true life of the backwoods pioneer farmer. This location was about eight miles from Boonville and a little over twenty miles from the Lincoln farm, which was situated about a mile across the county line in Spencer county. Here his son, William, and others of his children, were born.

The Episcopal church then had no representation here outside of Evansville, and like the elder Jaquess and the younger generation of the Ingles, he joined the Methodist church and from the beginning the circuit rider established a preaching place on his circuit at this cabin, which continued until a church was built in the neighborhood.

In 1825 he was appointed magistrate and not infrequently was as ex-officio police officer required to separate the rowdy combatants in public fights, who it is said always accepted his intervention as final, when others were afraid to interfere. Later he was elected lay judge of the circuit court, and before him Pitcher, Breckenridge and others practiced at the Boonville bar, and it is probable that it was during his term that Lincoln was a visitor at the court trials there.

For many years in later life, after the office of lay judge was abolished in Indiana, Judge Igleheart was elected county commissioner of Warrick county. In 1849, his oldest son, Asa (1817-1887), after teaching school in the country while studying law and farming by proxy, moved to Evansville, and at the age of thirty-one began the practice of law with

⁵³ The head of the Indiana branch of this family, Levi Igleheart, Sr., spelled his name with an e in the last syllable, while various branches of the same family from an early period omitted that letter.

⁵⁴ Robert Smith, who later for many terms was elected mayor of St. Paul, Minnesota, but who was born and reared in Warrick county, Indiana, knew him during this period (after Ratliff Boone had moved to Missouri in 1839) and referred to Levi Igleheart, Sr., as the leading man in Warrick county.

John Ingle, Sr., and Horatio Q. Wheeler; the latter a few years later became recognized as father of the public schools of Evansville.

He was appointed in 1852 common pleas judge to fill a vacancy, and later, without opposition, elected to fill a full term and traveled the circuit as judge in a number of counties. He practiced law till about the time of his death. References to his life and character are found in various local and state histories. Judge Walter Q. Gresham, before whom as federal judge in Indiana Judge Iglehart practiced with the leaders of the Indiana bar, after his death said that he was the greatest lawyer the state of Indiana had produced.

At the time of Judge Iglehart's funeral the late John Gilbert Shanklin, former secretary of state of Indiana, editor of the Evansville *Courier*, a man of high culture, one of the ablest men born in Evansville, stated that he was the leading citizen of Evansville. The Evansville bar association, in its resolutions said of him:

For twenty-five years he was the leader of a bar made famous by the names of Blythe, Jones, Chandler, Baker, Law and others dead and living. In the history of Indiana, Asa Iglehart will always rank with Willard, Judah, Morton and Hendricks as one of her great men.⁵⁵

In 1842 he married Ann Cowle, niece of John Ingle, of Saundersville, and stepdaughter of Mark Wheeler.

His oldest son, Rev. Ferdinand Cowle Iglehart, D.D., was born in 1845 in Warrick county, like his father in a log cabin in the wilderness. He was the first graduate of the Evansville high school, graduated at Asbury (DePauw) university, and began the active work of a Methodist minister, and as such from the beginning moved steadily upward until he filled many positions of prominence in the Methodist ministry. He rapidly advanced in the ministry of the M. E. church and was soon called to the pastorate of Trinity church of this city, the leading church of that denomination in

⁵⁵ *Bench and Bar of Indiana*, 393; *Courts and Lawyers of Indiana*, Vol. 1, 236, Vol. 3, 1145; Dunn, *Indiana and Indianians*, Vol. 5, pp. 1986-7; George Irving Reed, *Encyclopedia of Biography of Indiana*, 36; *Evansville and its Men of Mark*, 54; Elliott, *History of Vanderburgh County*, 144, 458; *History of Vanderburgh County* (B. & F. 1888), 358. The last named volume contains the best estimate of Judge Iglehart's character.

southern Indiana, where he served the full term and was soon called to the great eastern pulpits of his church. For more than twenty years until he was sixty years old he filled with great success for the full terms the great pulpits of the Methodist church in and around New York city. His field of labor was not entirely confined to the pulpits and pastorate of the great churches. He was recognized as a leader in all great public moral questions and reforms by leaders of churches of all denominations and he was at all times prominent in public addresses of every kind in New York and elsewhere. His mental training in the schools and college was continually developed and supplemented by intense application and labor far beyond that of the ordinarily successful man, the result of which is evidenced in a life work of great success covering a large field as preacher, pastor, lecturer, temperance reformer and author. He published a book entitled *The Speaking Oak*, which passed through several editions. His work *King Alcohol Dethroned* contains the most complete summary of facts on the temperance question in existence, according to the highest authority. His latest work, *Theodore Roosevelt, the Man as I Knew Him*, on account of the strong sympathy between the two men as reformers in New York city and their resulting personal acquaintance of the most intimate nature, contains a mass of interesting material relating to Roosevelt's inner life, including Roosevelt's inner thoughts on religion and other subjects, which competent critics say is not found in the work of any other of his biographies; the work has had a large sale and has been used for readings in the public schools of Brooklyn.

For many years he was a platform lecturer, wrote for the magazines, and was known among the ministers and laymen of the Methodist church in the country as a leading man in its ministry. For thirteen years he has been and is now on the editorial staff of the *Christian Herald*, which is the most widely circulated religious newspaper in America, if not in the world; to him has been entrusted great responsibility. At the age of sixty years Dr. Iglehart retired from the active pastorate to fill the place of superintendent of the Anti-

Saloon League of greater New York, to which cause he devoted ten years of his life.

In this field when the cause was poor and supported largely by collections in the churches, Dr. Iglehart devoted ten years of his life to the success of the temperance cause, preached twice every Sunday, visited churches of all denominations, carrying in every Monday morning the money he had collected on Sunday to maintain the work, and it is doubtful if any other man contributed more to its success. The following incident shows his power as a platform orator and debater. He was sent as one of the committee on temperance by the New York M. E. conference to attend the meeting of the temperance committee of the New York legislature held in a large hall full of people in Albany, where Mr. Jerome, the celebrated New York lawyer, addressed the legislative committee in behalf of the liquor interests. In his address Mr. Jerome quoted from a printed manual given him by his clients to the effect that Abraham Lincoln was liberal in his views on temperance. Dr. Iglehart, who had served a term as pastor at Bloomington, Ill., and knew Lincoln's history, felt that the quotation was misleading and incorrect, and sent a note to the chairman of the meeting, asking three minutes' time in which to answer Mr. Jerome. This was given him, when he quoted Lincoln's words directly contradictory to those claimed by the liquor interests, and denounced the methods of those interests with all his energy and power. There were a large number of temperance people in the hall and it is needless to add that this short address took the audience by storm. Standing in the rear of the hall, the leaders of the Anti-Saloon league witnessed this incident, and then declared that this speaker ought to devote his life to the work. Soon afterward he accepted the position upon terms dictated by himself. Dr. Iglehart resides at Dobbs Ferry on the Hudson.

Dr. Iglehart's oldest son, David Stewart Iglehart of New York city, was for many years the resident representative in South America of William R. Grace & Co., a concern with twenty steamships, with a million dollar headquarters in New York city with 800 employees, and 150 branch houses, reaching every capital in the world, with 25,000 employees. He

entered the employment of this firm in 1895 as an office-boy, after graduating in Columbia university, starting at the bottom and rose to the top. He won his success in the practical field as manager of the Grace House in Lima, Peru, and Valparaiso, Chili, and became a director, one of the vice-presidents, and partner in the house, which position he now holds.

Dr. Iglehart's second son, Dr. Edwin Taylor Iglehart, is and has for fourteen years been a missionary in Japan under the auspices of the Missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal church. He is associate dean of the Aoyama Gakuin college in Tokyo, one of the leading colleges of Japan. He received his A.B. from Columbia university, and his doctorate of sacred theology from Syracuse university. He is the editor of the Annual book published by all of the Protestant churches of the Japanese empire, which is regarded as a publication of importance. He is said by critics to have a most excellent knowledge of the Japanese language, and speaks it with correctness equal to any American in Japan. He has been offered and declined appointments to pulpits as pastor and preacher in the United States, which are filled only by men of first-class talent.

Rev. Charles Wheeler Iglehart, the youngest son of Dr. F. C. Iglehart, is also a missionary in Japan under the appointment of the M. E. missionary society. His work is at the old famed city of Sendai, preaching and organizing churches. He was for two years the successful manager of the publishing house for the Methodist church of the Empire of Japan. He is a graduate of Columbia university and of Drew Theological seminary, and a post-graduate at the University of Glasgow, Scotland, and is an excellent preacher and is much loved for his character and service. Both Edwin and Charles had Y.M.C.A. war service in Siberia.

In 1856, on the death of the senior Igleheart, his youngest son, William, came to Evansville, and three brothers, Asa, Levi and William, as Igleheart Brothers, built and operated a large brick mill for the period, corner of Locust street and the Canal in Evansville, which had not yet succumbed to the effect of the deadly railroad parallel.

Upon the death of Asa in 1887, his interest was acquired

by representatives of the other interests in the firm, and the industry has grown until under the same name as a corporation it has become one of the great and successful industries of Evansville.

Levi Igleheart, Jr., was early known in New Orleans before the Civil war and in New York, as well as in Nashville, a great flour center, as a man of rare ability, genius and integrity in business.⁵⁶ In like manner, William Igleheart was a man of great force of character, and aided in placing the credit of the house for integrity on the highest plane.⁵⁷

William Igleheart, Jr., deceased, was a newspaper man of reputation and success, who conducted the Salt Lake *Herald* for many years to final and general success, from a losing venture, as it was, when he began work on it. He was intimately associated with McCutcheon and George Ade as newspaper reporters in Chicago.

Igleheart Brothers, during the European war, were large exporters under government direction in supplying the armies and people of Europe with flour. The present management is by the three sons of Levi, Jr., Leslie, Addison and John, each of whom has a son educated, as well as trained to special departments of and active in the work.

Levi, Jr., married Susan, and William married Mary, daughters of John Ingle of Saundersville, who were cousins to the wife of Asa. Harriett, the oldest daughter of Levi Igleheart, Sr., married John Erskine of the English settlement in Vanderburgh county, and their daughter, Mary Erskine, married Rev. Albion Fellows, who died in 1865, while pastor of Locust Street during the building of Trinity church.

Daughters of Albion and Mary Fellows are Annie Fellows Johnston, the celebrated authoress of many works, including children's series, whose books are read throughout the English speaking world, and Albion Fellows Bacon, recognized as one of the leading women of Indiana, author of the Indiana Housing Reform law, and of national reputation as well known in housing and other reforms. Her first experience in housing reform is found in her work, *Beauty from*

⁵⁶ Elliott, *History*, 460.

⁵⁷ *Id.* 462.

Ashes, which attracted much attention. Their joint volume of poems, *Songs YSame*, 1897, contains poems of merit although they represent but a small number of their poems, most of which have been written since then and published in the magazines and newspapers. Both of these authors have been recognized in standard reference books in American literature. In Dunn, *Indiana and Indianans*, is a sketch of both of these women with an excellent portrait of Albion Fellows Bacon.⁶⁰ The same work contains in full a published sketch of Annie Fellows Johnston written by her sister, Albion Fellows Bacon, in which the early life of the former is charmingly told and the brilliancy of the latter as a writer appears.⁶¹

Martha, daughter of John and Harriett Iglehart Erskine, married William P. Hargrave, captain during the Civil war, and later judge in Vanderburgh county, son of the distinguished circuit rider, Richard Hargrave, who served the Evansville circuit in 1825.

Another son, John Hargrave, married Charlotte, daughter of John and Harriett Iglehart Erskine, and who left descendants.

James, son of John and Harriett Erskine, married Sarah Cowle, granddaughter of _____ Cowle Wheeler, and his brother, Levi Erskine, left descendants, among whom are Wilbur Erskine, president of the Evansville chamber of commerce for 1918 and proprietor of one of the largest flouring mills in the state of Indiana, located in Evansville; Charles Erskine, son of Wilbur, was elected state senator from Vanderburgh county to the legislature of Indiana for the years 1916-20.

Eleanor, daughter of Levi Igleheart, Sr., married Amos Wight of Warrick county, whose daughter, Melissa, married Rev. John W. Webb, who was for a term pastor of Ingle Street M. E. church, Evansville, and later member of the New York conference and presiding elder of the Syracuse district.

⁶⁰ V. 2, 779-80.

⁶¹ Id. Vol. 5, pp. 2184-5 and 6.

JUDGE ELISHA EMBREE

One of the active members of the Methodist Episcopal church, in its early struggles at Princeton, was Elisha Embree. Mr. Embree was born in Lincoln county, Kentucky, September 28, 1801. He was the son of Joshua and Elizabeth Embree. The family moved to Gibson county, Indiana, in 1811, and settled on land near the present site of Princeton. His father died in 1813, leaving his widow and five children in straitened circumstances.

The subject of this sketch did not attend school at all until he was seventeen or eighteen years old, and there is a tradition that at one time he was in a class with a girl of six or seven, and it was a struggle between them as to which should keep ahead. He was entirely self-educated. He read law in the office of Judge Samuel Hall, and was admitted to the bar in 1825. In 1833 he was elected to the state senate, and during his service in that body he stood almost alone in opposition to the wild internal improvement schemes of that period, which so nearly bankrupted the state. He became judge of the Fourth judicial circuit in 1835, as the successor of Judge Hall, who had resigned. He was re-elected to the full term in 1838. He served ten years in all. In 1847 he was elected to congress, defeating Robert Dale Owen. He was the only whig ever elected from the district. During his service at Washington he became acquainted with Abraham Lincoln, and lived in the same house with him. The friendship formed at that time continued until the death of Judge Embree. The family have now letters written to the Judge by Lincoln.

Judge Embree was a strong union man. He gave three sons, all he had, to the Union army, and went frequently to the front, devoting his time and energies to the service of the sick and wounded. Exposures in this service are thought to have caused his death, which occurred on the 28th day of February, 1863. Judge Embree became a member of the Methodist Episcopal church at an early day, and took a very active part in support of the organization. For many years he was the superintendent of the Sunday school, and on the occasion of his funeral the entire body of children marched

in the procession and cast flowers into his grave. A sketch of the life of Judge Embree, prepared by the Rev. T. H. Willis, and published in the *History of Gibson County; Indiana*, issued by James T. Tartt & Company, Edwardsville, Illinois, in 1884, contains this passage:

The first Methodist Episcopal church was built in Princeton about 1838. One of the active members in raising subscriptions to build it was Judge Elisha Embree. He said, "They have been driven from private dwellings, and from the jail, and from the courthouse," and he proposed now that they build a house of their own. The judge was raised under the influence of "Universalism." After his conversion, he examined carefully the various churches, their creeds, confessions of faith, polity, etc., and came to the conclusion that the Methodist Episcopal church came the nearest to his idea of a Bible church, and prophesied that it would become the church, for the conversion of the world. He accordingly united with it, remaining a most earnest and efficient worker until his death.

Holliday says of him:⁶²

Hon. Elisha Embree, for some time circuit judge in the southern end of the state, and for one term a representative of his district in congress, carried with him, on the bench and into the halls of national legislation the influence of a noble christian character.

He married a daughter of Major David Robb,⁶³ and among his descendants is Mr. Lucius Embree of Princeton, a prominent member of the Indiana bar; Andrew Lewis and Willis Howe of Princeton, leading men in southern Indiana in pioneer days, were prominent members of the M. E. church.

⁶² *Indiana Methodism*, 243.

⁶³ Tarkington, *Autobiography*, 106.

(To be continued)

The Savage Allies of the Northwest

(Paper Two)

ANIMALS AND GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF THE NORTHWEST DECADENCE OF THE TRIBES

By ELMORE BARCE

Perhaps no country ever held forth greater allurement to savage huntsmen than the old territory of the northwest. Its rivers and lakes teemed with edible fish; its great forests abounded with deer, elk, bears and raccoons; its vast plains and prairies were filled with herds of buffalo that existed up almost to the close of the eighteenth century; every swamp and morass was filled with countless thousands of geese, ducks, swan and cranes, and rodents like the beaver and other animals furnished the red man with the warmest of raiment in the coldest winter. To give an idea of the vast wealth of this domain in fur-bearing animals alone, it may be taken into account that in the year 1818 the American Fur Company, under the control of John Jacob Astor, with its headquarters at Mackinaw, had in its employ about four hundred clerks and traders, together with about two thousand French-Canadian voyageurs, who roamed all the rivers and lakes of the Indian country from the British dominions on the north, to as far west as the Missouri river.¹ The "out-fits" of this company had trading posts on the Illinois, and all its tributaries; on the Muskegon, Grand, Kalamazoo and other rivers in Michigan; on the line of the old Pottawatomi trail from the Wabash country to Post Chicago, and in the neighborhood of the Beaver lake regions in northern Indiana, and at many other points. The furs handled by them consisted of those of the marten (sable), mink, musk-rat, raccoon, lynx, wildcat, fox, wolverine, badger, otter, beaver, bears and deer,² of which the most valuable were those of the silver-gray fox and the marten. The value of these furs mounted into the hundreds of thousands of dollars and they were all consigned to New York. To one who reads the in-

¹ *Autobiography of Gurdon S. Hubbard*, 15, 16, 20.

² *Autobiography of Gurdon S. Hubbard*, 17.

teresting sketches of Gurdon S. Hubbard relating to what may be termed as the finale or closing days of the fur trade of the old northwest, the vision of what this trade amounted to in the days of the old French and English traders at Montreal, Mackinaw and Detroit, before the country had been



INDIAN TRIBES OF THE NORTHWEST

partially exhausted of its most valuable peltries, becomes more clearly strikingly apparent. Detroit commanded all the valuable beaver country of northern Ohio and Indiana, and southern Michigan, and of the rivers entering lakes Erie and Huron. The trade coming from the Cuyahoga, the Sandusky, the tributaries of the Miami and Scioto, the Wabash and the Maumee, all centered here. The French traders did

a vast and flourishing business with the savages, trading them brandy, guns, ammunition, blankets, vermillion and worthless trinkets for furs of the highest value. The significance of the old trading posts at Miamitown (Fort Wayne), Petit Piconne (Tippecanoe),³ Ouiatenon,⁴ and Vincennes, as feeders for this Detroit market by way of the Wabash and Maumee valleys, is also made plain. A glimpse of the activities at Miamitown (Fort Wayne) in the winter of 1789-1790, while it was still under the domination of the British, shows the Miami, Shawnees and Potawatomi coming in with otter, beaver, bear skins and other peltry,⁵ the presence of a lot of unscrupulous, cheating French traders⁶ who were generally drunk when assembled together, and who took every advantage of each other⁷ and the destitute savages with whom they were trading. At that time French half-breeds and traders of the names of Jean Cannehous, Jacque Dumay, Jean Coustan and others were trading with the Indians at Petit Piconne⁸ or Tippecanoe, and all this trade was routed through by way of the Wabash, the portage at Miamitown, and the Maumee, to Detroit. The traders at Ouiatenon, who undoubtedly enjoyed the advantage of the Beaver lake trade, by way of the Potawatomi trail to the north, were also in direct communication with the merchants of Detroit, and depended upon them.⁹ It is interesting to observe in passing, that the rendezvous of the French traders at the Petit Piconne (termed by Gen. Charles Scott as Keth-tip-e-ca-nunk), was broken up by a detachment of Kentucky mounted volunteers under Gen. James Wilkinson, in the summer of 1791, and utterly destroyed. One who accompanied the expedition stated that there were then one hundred and twenty houses at this place, eighty of which were shingled; that the best houses belonged to the French traders, and that the gardens and improvements around the place

³ A narrative of Life on the Old Frontier, Hay's Journal, *Wisconsin Historical Society*, 1914, pages 230-231 note.

⁴ Esarey, *History of Indiana*, 20-21.

⁵ A Narrative of Life on the Old Frontier, Hay's Journal, *Wisconsin Historical Society*, 1914. Pages 228, 241, 244, 246.

⁶ Id. 224.

⁷ Id. 237.

⁸ Id. 237.

⁹ Dillon, *History of Indiana*, I, 286.

were delightful; that there was a tavern located there, with cellars, a bar, and public and private rooms.¹⁰

Of all the fur-bearers of the northwest, the most interesting were the beavers. How much these industrious gnawers had to do with the French and Indian war, and the rivalry between England and France for the control of their domain north of the Ohio, is not generally appreciated. Had it not been for the lucrative trade in beaver skins, England would not have so long held the military posts in the northwest after the Revolution. The marshes, lakes, rivers and small streams of northern Ohio and Indiana, and of the whole of Michigan and Wisconsin, abounded with the houses and habitations of these workers. Behind them they have left the names of creeks, towns, townships and even counties. The beaver lake region of northern Indiana has a Beaver "lake", a Beaver "township", a Beaver "creek", a Beaver "city", and a Beaverville to its credit. The history of Vigo and Parke counties, Indiana, by Beckwith, chapter 20, at page 208, recites that beavers existed along all the small lakes and lesser river courses in northern Indiana. They were plentiful in Dekalb,¹¹ Marshall,¹² Elkhart,¹³ Cass,¹⁴ White¹⁵ and Steuben.¹⁶ It is well known that their dams existed in large numbers in Newton and Jasper, and in practically all the Indiana counties north of the Wabash river. So numerous were these animals that even the most intelligent among the early savages believed that the great flocks of geese in the fall in many instances turned into beavers, and for proof of the foundation for this belief, they pointed to the palmated hind feet.¹⁷ In no other way could they account for their seemingly inexhaustible supply. Most of the small rivers and streams were very low in the summer season. To provide against this extremity, and to promote both their food supply and their safety, the beavers constructed their dams. The

¹⁰ James R. Albach, *Annals of the West*, 569.

¹¹ *History DeKalb County, Ind.*, B. F. Bowen, 139-140.

¹² *Marshall County History*, McDonald, I, 160.

¹³ *Standard History of Elkhart County*, Abraham E. Weaver, I, 38-39.

¹⁴ *Cass County History*, John Powell, I, 481.

¹⁵ *White County History*, W. H. Hammelle, I, 40.

¹⁶ *Chicago Publication of Steuben County, Indiana*, 264.

¹⁷ *Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Colonel James Smith*, Lexington, 1799. Republished by Clarke & Co., 57-58.

convexity of these structures pointed upstream in order to give added strength. By this method the water was raised over the entrances to their subterraneous lodging places under the banks, and the total water area extended to take in additional roots, trees and saplings for their subsistence.¹⁸ The beaver, being a slow mover upon the land, often fell prey to the wolves, who were their greatest enemies. To the Indians, the beaver not only furnished furs and clothing, but in the winter season he also supplied them with flesh to eat. Col. James Smith describes the meat as being a "delicious fare."¹⁹ When the Indians found the beavers in their houses they first broke up all the thin ice around about, and then by breaking into the houses, drove the beavers into the water. Being soon forced to come to the surface to take the air, the Indians commonly reached in and caught them by the hind legs, dragged them out on the ice and tomahawked them.²⁰ Great numbers of them were also caught in traps.

One of the great curses of the fur trade to the Indians, however, was the speedy extermination of their food supply. The Indian traders offered a blanket in place of the robes and furs formerly made and used by the savages, and what was still more destructive, constantly held before their eyes the allurement of whiskey and brandy. To procure these, the red men destroyed the herds of buffalo east of the Mississippi, despoiled the lakes and rivers of their swarms of beaver and otter, and suddenly found themselves both hungry and dependent in a land that formerly yielded an abundance of everything.

No story of the northwest would be complete without mention of the buffalo, or wild cow of America. In the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth centuries the buffalo had ranged as far east as western New York and Pennsylvania, and as far south as Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia.²¹ Father Marquette, in his explorations, declared that the prairies along the Illinois river were "covered with buffaloes."

¹⁸ *Remarkable Occurrences, etc.*, 59-60.

¹⁹ *Id.*, 68.

²⁰ *Id.* 60-61.

²¹The Extermination of the American Bison, Wm. T. Hornaday, in *Annual Report of Smithsonian Institution*, 1887, Part 2, page 387.

Father Hennepin, in writing of northern Illinois, between Chicago and the Illinois river, asserted that, "There must be an innumerable quantity of wild bulls in that country, since the earth is covered with their horns. * * * They follow one another, so that you may see a drove of them for above a league together. Their ways are beaten, as our great roads, and no herb grows therein."²²

Of the presence of large numbers of buffalo, that resorted to the salty licks of Kentucky, we have frequent mention by both Marshall and Butler, the early historians of that state. In the year 1755, Col. James Smith mentions the killing of several buffalo by the Indians at a lick in Ohio, somewhere between the Muskingum, the Ohio and the Scioto. At this lick the Indians made about a half bushel of salt in their brass kettles. He asserts that about this lick there were clear, open woods, and that there were great roads leading to the same made by the buffalo, that appeared like wagon roads.²³ The wild cattle had evidently been attracted thither by the mineral salts in the water. In the early morning of June 13, 1765, George Croghan, an Indian agent of William Johnson, coming into view of some of the fine large meadows bordering the western banks of the Wabash, saw in the distance herds of buffalo eating the grass, and described the land as filled with buffalo, deer and bears in "great plenty".²⁴ On the eighteenth and nineteenth of the same month, he traveled through what he termed as a "prodigious large meadow, called the Pyankeshaw's Hunting Ground", and described it as well watered and full of buffalo, deer, bears and all kinds of wild game.²⁵ He was still in the lower Wabash region. On the twentieth and twenty-first of June he was traveling north along the Wabash in the vicinity of the Vermilion river, and states that game existed plentifully, and that one could kill in a half hour as much as was needed.²⁶ He spoke, evidently, of the large variety of game before mentioned. The whole of the grand prairie of Illinois, filled with an abundant growth of the richest grasses, and all the savannas north of the Wabash in Indiana, that really constituted an exten-

²² *Id.*, 388.

²³ *Remarkable Occurrences*, 21.

²⁴ Mann Butler, *History of Kentucky*, Louisville, 1834. Appendix, 371.

²⁵ *Id.*, 372.

²⁶ *Id.*, 372.

sion of this grand prairie, were particularly suited to the range of the wild herds, and were the last grounds deserted by them previous to their withdrawal west, and across the Mississippi.

The economical value of the herds of buffalo to the Indian tribes of the northwest may be gathered from the uses to which they were afterwards put by the tribes of the western plains.

The body of the buffalo yielded fresh meat, of which thousands of tons were consumed; dried meat, prepared in summer for winter use; pemmican (also prepared in summer) of meat, fat, and berries; tallow, made up into large balls or sacks, and kept in store; marrow, preserved in bladders; and tongues; dried and smoked, and eaten as a delicacy.

The skin of the buffalo yielded a robe, dressed with the hair on, for clothing and bedding; a hide, dressed without the hair, which made a tepee cover, when a number were sewn together; boats, when sewn together in the green state, over a wooden frame work; shields, from the thickest portions, as rawhide; ropes, made up as rawhide; clothing of many kinds; bags for use in traveling; coffins, or winding sheets for the dead, etc.

Other portions utilized were sinews, which furnished fibre for ropes, thread, bow-strings, snow-shoe webs, etc.; hair, which was sometimes made into belts and ornaments; "buffalo chips" which formed a valuable and highly prized fuel; bones, from which many articles of use and ornament were made; horns, which were made into spoons, drinking vessels, etc.²⁷

The Rev. John Heckewelder, in speaking of the skill of the Delawares of Ohio in dressing and curing buffalo hides, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, says that they cured them so that they became quite soft and supple, and so that they would last for many years without wearing out. They also made beaver and raccoon skin blankets that were "pliant, warm and durable", setting the fur or hair all the same way so as to shed water.²⁸

Taking into consideration the well-known fact that the prairies of Illinois and northern Indiana were filled with herds of buffalo in the middle of the eighteenth century, and

²⁷ The extermination of the American Bison, Wm. T. Hornaday, *Annual Report of Smithsonian Institution*, 1887, Part 2, pages 437-438.

²⁸ Rev. John Heckewelder, *An Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations*, Philadelphia, 1819, 202.

that about this time the tribes of the Sacs and Foxes, Kickapoos, and Potawatomi descended from the north and took possession of this buffalo country, we are able to understand how these well nourished, prolific and virile horse tribes, more especially the Potawatomi, were able to push back and finally seize and occupy a large part of the country of the Miamis.

All at once, and somewhere between the years 1780 and 1790, the buffalo east of the Mississippi, suddenly disappeared. The account given by Shaubena, a famous Potawatomi chief of northern Illinois, is interesting. He says that the trade in buffalo robes east of the Mississippi ceased in about the year 1790; that when a youth he joined in the chase of buffalo on the prairies, but while he was still young they all disappeared from the country.

A big snow, about five feet deep, fell, and froze so hard on the top that people walked on it, causing the buffalo to perish by starvation. Next spring, a few buffalo, poor and haggard in appearance, were seen going westward, and as they approached the carcasses of dead ones, which were lying here and there on the prairie, they would stop, commence pawing and lowing, then start off again in a lope for the west.²⁹

Whatever credence may be given to the above tale, it is interesting to observe that the Rev. John Heckewelder relates, that the winter of the year 1784 was of such intense cold, as that all the rivers and creeks within the present limits of the state of Michigan, and also Lake St. Clair, became covered with a coat of ice, that from day to day became thicker and stronger; that this intense freezing was followed by a snow fall of two feet in depth, followed a few days later by another snow of three feet, so that the whole surface of the country was covered to a level of about five feet; that from the beginning of January until about the first of March, there were not more than four clear days; that during that time the snow became settled, and a hard crust formed on the top, so that persons could walk upon it.³⁰ Barring a discrepancy in dates, the winter referred to by the chief

²⁹ M. Matson, *Memories of Shaubena*, Chicago, 1878, 34-35.

³⁰ John Heckewelder, *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren*. Philadelphia, 1820, 352, 355-356.

Shaubena and the missionary Heckewelder, were probably the same. The prevalence of such a depth of snow for such an extended time would certainly lead to the starvation of thousands of these animals. William T. Hornaday, of the Smithsonian Institution, says:

When the snowfall was unusually heavy, and lay for a long time on the ground, the buffalo was forced to fast for days together, and sometimes even weeks. If a warm day came, and thawed the upper surface of the snow, sufficiently for succeeding cold to freeze it into a crust, the outlook for the bison began to be serious. A man can travel over a crust through which the hoofs of a ponderous bison cut like chisels and leave him floundering belly-deep. It was at such times that the Indians hunted him on snow-shoes, and drove their spears into his vitals as he wallowed helplessly in the drifts. Then the wolves grew fat upon the victims which they, also, slaughtered without effort.³¹

The extinction of this valuable animal east of the Mississippi may more reasonably be ascribed to a combination of causes. First, the careless slaughter of thousands of them by the Potawatomi, Kickapoos and Sacs and Foxes, for their hides alone, in order to procure whiskey from the reckless French fur traders. Second, the useless slaughter of other thousands of them under the excitement of the chase, regardless of any idea of conserving the herds. Third, the slaughter of great numbers by ever increasing bands of white hunters. If after the herds had been thus depleted by years of reckless killing, the great snow came that covered the prairies with a solid crust for long weeks and months, and during this time other thousands fell victims to starvation, wolves, and Indians upon snow-shoes, the remnants of the herds that remained in the spring may well have fled beyond the Mississippi in quest of a more temperate climate.

However that may be, the opening of the nineteenth century saw the buffalo practically extinguished in the territory of the northwest. A few scattered animals may have remained here and there upon the prairies, but the old herds whose progenitors were seen by Croghan were forever gone. In the month of December, 1799, Judge Jacob Burnet was traveling overland on horseback from Cincinnati to Vin-

³¹ The extermination of the American Bison, 423.

cennes on professional business, and while at some point north and west of the falls of the Ohio he and his companions surprised a small herd of eight or ten buffaloes, that were seeking shelter behind the top of a fallen beech tree on the line of an old "trace", during a snow storm.³² This is one of the last authentic accounts given of any buffaloes in Indiana. On August 18th and August 27th, 1804, Governor William Henry Harrison, as Indian agent for the United States government, bought a large tract of land in southern Indiana, between the Wabash and Ohio rivers, from the Delaware and Piankeshaw tribes. The right to make this purchase was disputed by Captain William Wells, the Indian agent at Fort Wayne, and by the Little Turtle claiming to represent the Miamis, and it was asserted among other things, that the lands bought were frequented as a hunting ground by both the Miamis and Potawatomi, and that they went there to hunt buffaloes. The truth of this statement was denied by Governor Harrison, who said that not an animal of that kind "had been seen within that tract for several years."³³ It seems probable, then, that the account given by Shaubena that all traffic in buffalo robes ceased by the year 1790 is true; that at the opening of the nineteenth century the herds in Indiana and Illinois had entirely disappeared, and that if a few stragglers were still left in the remote regions of the grand prairie, that they were of no commercial value whatever to the tribes east of the Mississippi.

Traces of the old buffalo wallows are occasionally met with even to this day. The great animals "rolled successively in the same hole, and each thus carried away a coat of mud," which baking in the sun, served to protect them against the great swarm of flies, gnats and insects that infested the marshes and prairies of that early time. One of these wallows, in a perfect state of preservation, exists in the northwest quarter of section thirty, in township twenty-five north, range six west, in Benton county, Indiana. It is several yards in diameter, hollowed out to a depth of four or five feet, and its periphery is almost an exact circle. It

³² Burnett, *Notes on the Northwestern Territory*, Cincinnati, 1847, 72.

³³ Letter by Wm. H. Harrison to Secretary of War, March 3rd, 1805, Harrison Letters, 109 to 123, inclusive, State University.

is situate on rather a high, springy knoll, commanding a view of the surrounding plain for several miles. A great number of Indian arrow heads have been picked up in the immediate vicinity, showing that the Indians had previously resorted thither in search of game.

The geographical features of the northwest were such that all points in the interior were easily accessible to the early voyageurs and French fur traders. It was bounded on the north and northeast by the chain of the Great Lakes, on the south by the Ohio, and on the west by the Mississippi. The heads of the rivers and streams that flowed into these great watercourses and lakes were connected by short portages, so that the Indian trapper or hunter could carry his canoe for a few miles and pass from the waters that led to Lake Michigan or Lake Erie, into the streams that fed the Mississippi or the Ohio. Take, for instance, the rivers within the present limits of the state of Ohio. The headwaters of the Muskingum and its tributaries interlocked with those of the Cuyahoga; the headwaters of the Scioto with those of the Sandusky; the headwaters of the Great Miami with those of the Wabash and the St. Marys. In northern Indiana another remarkable system of portages appeared. The canoes of the traders were carried some eight or nine miles from the Little Wabash to the Maumee, placing the command of the whole Wabash country in the hands of the Detroit merchants. The sources of the Tippecanoe were connected by portages with the waters of the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, and a like connection existed between the waters of the Tippecanoe and the waters of the Kankakee. These portages were, as General Harrison observes, "much used by the Indians and sometimes by traders."³⁴ Hence the importance of the trading posts at Tippecanoe and the Wea towns, or Ouiatenon. La Salle passed from Lake Michigan to the waters of the St. Joseph, thence up that river to a portage of three miles in what is now St. Joseph county, Indiana, thence by said portage to the headwaters of the Kankakee, and down that river to the Illinois.³⁵

³⁴ Letter by Wm. H. Harrison to Secretary of War, July 5th, 1809, Harrison Letters, 252 to 263, inclusive, State University.

³⁵ James R. Albach, *Annals of the West*, 80.

At Post Chicago the traders crossed from Lake Michigan by a very short portage into the headwaters of the Illinois, and General Harrison says that in the spring, the boats with their loading "passed freely from one to the other".³⁶ In Michigan the heads of the streams that flowed into Lake Huron interlocked with the heads of those that went down to Lake Michigan. In Wisconsin, the voyageurs passed from Green bay up the Fox river to lake Winnebago, thence by the Fox again to the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin, thence down the Wisconsin river to the Mississippi. Through this important channel of trade passed nine-tenths of the goods that supplied the Indians above the Illinois river and those in upper Louisiana.³⁷

This great network of lakes, rivers and portages was in turn connected by the waterways of the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence, with the great head and center of all the fur trade of the western world, the city of Montreal.

The only practicable means of communication was by the canoe. Most of the territory of the northwest, being as General Harrison observes, "remarkably flat, the roads were necessarily bad in winter, and in the summer the immense prairies to the west and north of this produced such a multitude of flies as to render it impossible to make use of pack horses."³⁸ Bogs, marshes and sloughs in endless number added to the difficulties of travel. Hence it was, that the power that commanded the lakes and water courses of the northwest, commanded at the same time all the fur trade and the Indian tribes in the interior. The mastery of this situation constituted the gage of battle between France and England during the French and Indian war, and was afterwards the bone of contention between Great Britain and her former colonies.

To give a detailed description of the many beautiful rivers, valleys and forests of the northwest of the opening of the last century, would be almost impossible. It was a vast domain, well watered and fertile, and containing some

³⁶ Letter by Wm. H. Harrison to Secretary of War, July 5th, 1809, Harrison Letters, 252 to 263, inclusive, State University.

³⁷ *Id.*, 252 to 263, inclusive,

³⁸ *Id.*, 252 to 263, inclusive.

of the best lands in the possession of the federal government. Two rivers, however, assume such historical importance, as to merit a more particular mention. Along their courses two Indian confederacies were organized, under the spur of British influence, to oppose the advance of the infant republic of the United States. These two rivers were the Wabash and the Maumee.

The valley of the Wabash, famed in song and story, and rich in Indian legend, is now filled with fields of corn and prosperous cities. At the opening of the year 1800, it swept through an unbroken wilderness of oak, maple and sycamore from its source to the old French settlement of Vincennes. Its bluffs, now adorned with the habitations of a peaceful people, then presented the wild and rugged beauty of pristine days; its terraces, stretching back to the prairies of the north and west, were crowned with forests primeval; while naked Miamis, Weas and Potawatomi in canoes of bark, rounded its graceful courses to the waters of the Ohio.

For one who has ridden over the hills to the west and south of Purdue University, and viewed the gorgeous panorama of the Wea plains, or who has glimpsed in the perspective the wooded hills of Warren and Vermilion from the bluffs on the eastern side of the river, it is not hard to understand why the red man loved the Wabash. An observer who saw it in the early part of the last century pens this picture:

Its green banks were lined with the richest verdure. Wild flowers intermingled with the tall grass that nodded in the passing breeze. Nature seemed clothed in her bridal robe. Blossoms of the wild plum, hawthorn, and red-bud made the air redolent.³⁹

Speaking of the summer he says:

The wide fertile bottom lands of the Wabash, in many places presented one continuous orchard of wild-plum and crab-apple bushes, overspread with arbors of the different varieties of the woods grape, wild hops and honeysuckle, fantastically wreathed together. One bush, or cluster of bushes, often presenting the crimson plum, the yellow crab-apple, the blue luscious grape, festoons of matured wild hops, mingled with the red berries of the clambering sweet-brier, that bound them all lovingly together.⁴⁰

³⁹ Sanford C. Cox, *Old Settlers*, 1860, 75.

⁴⁰ *Id.*, 76.

Through all this wild and luxurious wilderness of vines, grasses and flowers flitted the honey bee, called by the Indians "the white man's fly," storing his golden burden in the hollow trunks of the trees. While on the march from Vincennes in the last days of September, 1811, Captain Spencer's Yellow Jackets found three bee trees in an hour and spent the evening in cutting them down. They were rewarded by a find of ten gallons of rich honey.⁴¹

The great river itself now passed between high precipitous bluffs, crowned with oak, sugar, walnut and hickory, or swept out with long graceful curves into the lowlands and bottoms, receiving at frequent intervals the waters of clear, sparkling springs and brooks that leaped down from rocky gorges and hill sides, or being joined by the currents of some creek or inlet that in its turn swept back through forest, glade and glen to sunlit groves and meadows of blue grass. Everywhere the waters of the great stream were clear and pellucid. The plow-share of civilization had not as yet turned up the earth, nor the filth and sewerage of cities been discharged into the current. In places the gravelly bottom could be seen at a great depth and the forms of fishes of great size reposing at ease.

Schools of fishes—salmon, bass, red-horse and pike—swam close along the shore, catching at the blossoms of the red-bud and plum that floated on the surface of the water, which was so clear that myriads of the finny tribe could be seen darting hither and thither amidst the limpid element, turning up their silvery sides as they sped out into deeper water.⁴²

The whole valley of the Wabash abounded with deer, and their tiny hoofs wrought footpaths through every hollow and glen. The small prairies bordered with shady groves, the patches of blue grass, and the sweet water of the springs, were great attractions. The banks of the Mississinewa, Wild Cat, Pine Creek, Vermilion, and other tributaries, were formerly noted hunting grounds. George Croghan, who described the Wabash as running through "one of the finest countries in the world," mentions the deer as existing in

⁴¹ Tipton's Journal, *Indiana Magazine of History*, II, 172.

⁴² Sanford C. Cox, *Old Settlers*, 76.

great numbers. On the march of General Harrison's men to Tippecanoe, the killing of deer was an everyday occurrence, and at times the frightened animals passed directly in front of the line of march.⁴³ Raccoons were also very plentiful. On a fur trading expedition conducted by a French trader named La Fountain from the old Miamitown (Fort Wayne), in the winter of 1789-90, he succeeded in picking up about eighty deer skins and about five hundred raccoon skins in less than thirty days. He descended the Wabash and "turned into the woods" towards the White river, there bartering with the Indians for their peltries.⁴⁴

As to wild game, the whole valley was abundantly supplied. In the spring time, great numbers of wild ducks, geese and brant were found in all the ponds and marshes; in the woody grounds, the wild turkey, the pheasant and the quail. At times, the sun was actually darkened by the flight of wild pigeons, while the prairie chicken was found in all the open tracts and grass lands.

The bottom lands of this river were noted for their fertility. The annual inundations always left a rich deposit of silt. This silt produced excellent maize, potatoes, beans, pumpkins, squashes, cucumbers and melons. These, according to Heckewelder, were important items of the Indian food supply.⁴⁵

To the Indian we are indebted for ash-cake, hoe-cake, succotash, samp, hominy, and many other preparations made from this Indian maize.⁴⁶ The Miamis of the Wabash, with a favorable climate and a superior soil, produced a famous corn with a finer skin and "a meal much whiter" than that raised by other tribes.⁴⁷ How far the cultivation of this cereal had progressed is not now fully appreciated. In the expedition of Gen. James Wilkinson against the Wabash Indians in 1791, he is said to have destroyed over two hundred acres of corn in the milk at Kenapacomaqua, or the Eel

⁴³ See Tipton's Journal, *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. 2.

⁴⁴ A Narrative of Life on the Old Frontier, Hay's Journal, *Wisconsin Historical Society*, 243-244.

⁴⁵ Rev. John Heckewelder, *An Account of the History, etc., of the Indian Nations*. Philadelphia, 1819, 193.

⁴⁶ Bureau of American Ethnology. *Handbook of American Indians*. Part I, 791.

⁴⁷ *Id.*, 853.

river towns, alone, and to have cut down a total of four hundred and thirty acres of corn in the whole campaign.⁴⁸ On the next day after the battle of Tippecanoe the dragoons of Harrison's army set fire to the Prophet's Town, and burned it to the ground. Judge Isaac Naylor says that they found there large quantities of corn, beans and peas,⁴⁹ and Gen. John Tipton relates that the commissary loaded six wagons with corn and "Burnt what was Estimated at 2 Thousand Bushels."⁵⁰

Of the many other natural advantages of this great valley, much might be written. Wheat and tobacco, the latter of a fine grade, were growing at Vincennes in 1765, when Croghan passed through there. Wild hemp was abundant on the lowlands. The delicious pecan flourished, and walnuts, hazelnuts and hickorynuts were found in great plenty. The sugar maple existed everywhere, and the Indians, who were the original maple sugar makers, of the world, made large quantities of this toothsome article. In addition to this the whole valley was filled with wild fruits and berries, such as blackberries, dewberries, raspberries, gooseberries, and the luscious wild strawberry, that grew everywhere in the open spaces and far out on the bordering prairies.

No less wonderful was the valley of the Maumee, directly on the great trade route between the Wabash and the Post of Detroit. Croghan, who was a judge of good land, and made careful observations, found the Ottawas and Wyandots here in 1765, the land of great richness, and game very plentiful. It was a region greatly beloved by the Indian tribes, and the scene after the Revolution, of many grand councils of the northwestern confederacy. In a letter of General Wayne, written in 1794, he asserts that

The margins of these beautiful rivers the Miamis of the Lake (Maumee), and the Au Glaize (a southern tributary), appear like one continued village for a number of miles, both above and below this place, Grand Glaize, nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America from Canada to Florida.⁵¹

⁴⁸ James R. Albach, *Annals of the West*, 568, 570.

⁴⁹ Report Tippecanoe Monument Commission, 151.

⁵⁰ *Indiana Magazine of History*, II, 181.

⁵¹ Bureau of American Ethnology. *Handbook of American Indians*. Part I, page 791.

The army spent many days after the battle of Fallen Timbers in the destruction of the fields of grain. One who marched with Wayne's army, in August of the above year, describes Indian corn fields for four or five miles in length along the Au Glaize, and estimated that there were one thousand acres of growing corn. The whole valley of the Maumee from its mouth to Fort Wayne, is described as being full of immense corn fields, large vegetable patches, and old apple trees, and it is related that Wayne's army, while constructing Fort Defiance for a period of eight days, "obtained their bread and vegetables from the corn fields and potato patches surrounding the fort."⁵²

Such were the valleys of the Wabash and the Maumee, but what of the savages that dwelt therein? Despite the richness and fertility of the soil, the former abundance of game, and the luxuriosness of the vegetation, the bands of Piankeshaws, Weas and Eel River Miamis, which Harrison saw in the vicinity of Vincennes in the year 1801, are described as "a body of the most depraved wretches upon earth."⁵³ They were seen in the streets of that town daily in considerable numbers; thirty or forty of them being frequently drunk at one time, drawing their knives and stabbing one another, and creating "the greatest disorders." They frequently broke open the houses of the citizens, killing their cattle and hogs, and breaking down their fences.⁵⁴ Under the influence of intoxicants they were seized with a spirit of insubordination and destroyed many of their own chiefs. The Little Beaver, a Wea chieftain, was murdered by his own son. Little Fox was killed in the street at mid-day, by one of his own nation.⁵⁵ The Kaskaskias of Illinois, once a powerful tribe, were reduced to a pack of beggars, supplicating the inhabitants of the old French towns on the Mississippi. The Piankeshaws were reduced to a miserable remnant of twenty-five or thirty warriors.⁵⁶ Farther up the

⁵² Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, 1856, 523.

⁵³ Letter of Wm. H. Harrison to Secretary of War, July 15, 1801, Dawson's *Harrison*, 9-12.

⁵⁴ *Id.*, 9-12.

⁵⁵ *Id.*, 9-12.

⁵⁶ Letter of Wm. H. Harrison to Secretary of War, February 26, 1802. Dawson's *Harrison*, 16-20.

river, the tale was the same. The once powerful Miamis, visited by Mr. Gist in 1751, and described by him as "a very superior people", and in the days of Anthony Wayne numbered among the leaders of the northwestern confederacy, were reduced and decimated to scattered bands, that were daily yielding their grounds to more powerful tribes.

What was the cause of this sudden and terrible degeneration of the Indian tribes at the opening of the nineteenth century? It was plainly their contact with the Indian traders, the worst and most vicious element of the early frontier, and described by Garrison as being "the greatest villains in the world."⁵⁷ Long intercourse with these unscrupulous men, under the French, English and Americans, had finally accomplished a deterioration of the race. These traders had pandered to every vice and bowed to every passion of their savage victims, and all from the sordid motive of gain. The richest peltries were bartered for whiskey; the plains and rivers were robbed of their fur-bearing and food-producing animals. In 1801 the spectacle was appalling! It was believed that at that time not more than six hundred warriors were left upon the Wabash, and yet it was estimated that the quantity of liquor imported for their consumption was six thousand gallons.⁵⁸ The closer the contact of trader and savage, the more noticeable the effects.

All horrors are produced to those unhappy people by their too frequent intercourse with the white people. This is so certain, that I can at once tell, upon looking at an Indian whom I chance to meet, whether he belongs to a neighboring, or to a more distant tribe. The latter is generally well clothed, healthy, and vigorous; the former, half naked, filthy, and enfeebled by intoxication; and many of them without arms, excepting a knife, which they carry for the most villainous purposes.⁵⁹

Along the great trade routes from Detroit to Vincennes, frequented for many decades by the voyageurs and traders of both those posts, the results were calamitous.

Let another fact be noticed. In the succeeding years of

⁵⁷ *Id.*, 16-20,

⁵⁸ Letter of Wm. H. Garrison to Secretary of War, July 15, 1801. Dawson's *Harrison*, 9-12.

⁵⁹ Letter of Wm. H. Garrison to Secretary of War, July 15, 1801. Dawson's *Harrison*, 9-12.

General Harrison's administration, yearly complaint was made by the Indians of the scarcity of game. It is true that the great herds of buffalo had disappeared, and fearful havoc had been wrought among the swarms of beaver and otter, but if the tribes had not been weakened and diseased by the constant use of liquor, much of their misery might have been averted, and the natural bounties of their habitations would have still yielded them an abundant supply of food. As it was, great portions of the race were enervated, and became more and more dependent as their vices progressed. And along with this inordinate use of liquors, other perils had come. Hecklewelder noticed among the Ohio Delawares, a terrible increase in pulmonary diseases, as a result of the use of spirituous liquors. "Our vices have destroyed them more than our swords."⁶⁰ Ardent spirits in turn propagated certain blood diseases; the currents of the race became corrupted, and great numbers perished.⁶¹

Let it not be understood, however, that the glory and courage of all the tribesmen had entirely departed. Far from it. Despite the depravity spread by the traders, the innate ferocity of these wild men, their discipline in battle, and their knowledge of woodcraft, still made them a formidable foe. Given the right leaders, who could powerfully appeal to their superstitions and their ancient hatred of the pale-face, and they still possessed enough of potency to resist strong armies, and to strike terror to the hearts of the rugged frontiersmen.

⁶⁰ Rev. John Heckewelder, *An Account of the History, etc., of the Indian Nations*, 223.

⁶¹ *Id.*, 221.

(To be Continued.)

Tunis Quick, A Bartholomew County Pioneer

By His Daughter, RACHEL Q. BUTTZ

One of the early pioneers of Bartholomew county, Indiana, was Tunis Quick. He was born March 13, 1797, near Martinsburg, Berkeley county, Virginia (now West Virginia). He came to Bartholomew county (or what was afterwards this county), in the autumn of 1819. He entered 160 acres of land for himself and his father, in the Haw Patch, seven miles north of the present city of Columbus, where he afterwards helped to build one of the first houses.

With him came Isaac Pancake, a young man near his own age, and also a native of Virginia, who entered a nearby tract of land. Their nearest neighbors were Joseph Cox and family, living about three miles to the southeast, who arrived there in April of the same year, 1819.

The young pioneers each built on his land a small cabin, just large enough to stand up or lie down in comfortably, with a small fireplace in one end. Here they prepared their food, which consisted of a little corn bread, and an abundance and variety of wild meat, which they secured with their rifles from the thick woods which surrounded them. The water for all necessary purposes was carried from Flat Rock, about half a mile west of them.

Plenty of hard work was to be done and they did it bravely and cheerfully, looking ahead to the homes that were to be theirs in the future. At night their rest was sweet and safe, as there were only a few Indians passing through the country then, and they were friendly.

In the spring of 1820, Tunis Quick's father and the other members of his family came from Madison, where they had spent the winter. A larger house was built on the east eighty of the land which had been entered, and the family began pioneer life in earnest.

Quite a number of settlers came on that spring, and the country began to fill up with neighbors in all directions. These pioneers were hardy, honest, industrious and friendly —usually regarding each other's rights to the letter. All had

guns of some kind, and ammunition for all necessary purposes. They even formed a company for training militia, and Tunis Quick was chosen captain of the company. From that time onward he occupied prominent positions. Though he was only about medium size, he possessed unusual physical strength and mental vigor, and his neighbors gladly recognized his leadership.

Corn huskings and log rollings were almost the only festivities in which the early settlers indulged, and at such gatherings whiskey flowed more or less freely. There were few teetotalers among the early settlers, but not many of them drank to excess. They had already made so many sacrifices, and were so filled with the desire to secure comfortable homes for themselves and their posterity, that they did not allow themselves undue indulgences.

Government land had been promised to the settlers at \$1.25 per acre. Hard work was a necessity for the pioneers, and money was scarce, but they managed to save enough to pay that price for their land, and a company of them went to Brookville to the land sale in 1820. Here they encountered land sharks, who, even in that early day, were plying their nefarious business—trying to defraud honest, industrious people of their “inalienable rights.” But the early American citizens, among a great many other sterling qualities, inherited independence from their forefathers; so after watching the performance of the land sharks, who were running the land up to \$1.50 per acre, they decided to hold the government to its promise of \$1.25 an acre for those who had built upon their land, and begun to improve it. Accordingly, they presented a solid front with their rifles, demanded their rights and were granted them without further parley.

In those early days, hospitality was spontaneous and sincere. Travelers were heartily welcomed with the hope that they might become neighbors in the near future. A young man named Joseph Van Meter came on horseback from Kentucky, and stayed over night with Tunis Quick, who had relatives in Virginia named Van Meter. Being distantly related to the same family, and having many ideas in common, the young men both enjoyed the visit. When Mr. Van Meter, who wished to see more of the country before settling down,

was about to start on his way the next morning, he deposited \$600 in gold with his new friend for safe-keeping until his return. Being attacked by some kind of fever while he was gone, it was many weeks before he was able to come back. No word came from him in the meantime, but when he was able to ride he returned and found his money safe with his friend. They trusted each other absolutely in the beginning and were the best of friends while they both lived.

Joseph Van Meter went back to Kentucky, but so attractive was the new country, that he and his brother-in-law, William Jones, soon decided to make their future homes in Indiana. In 1821, while on their way to hunt a location there, they met an acquaintance at Louisville, who was returning from the Reserve, as it was often called. He was seated on a wagon-tongue and shaking violently with the ague. Between his chattering teeth he said to William Jones: "Bill, turn around and go back. Go back to old Kaintuck. The darned ager will shake you to pieces up thar in Indiany." But possessed of the invincible pioneer spirit, instead of turning back they went forward. They were much pleased with the new country and bought farms adjoining each other in the rich bottom land on the west side of Flat Rock, and almost opposite Tunis Quick's farm, which was on the east side of the river. They built their homes about a half mile from Flat Rock, and both became prominent citizens. The Van Meter family have all passed to their reward, and John L. Jones, a prominent farmer of the county, is the only remaining member of that Jones family. He still owns the farm which was selected by his father when he arrived here from Kentucky in 1821.

Quite a settlement now began on the west side of Flat Rock. A large family named Records, moved from Ohio, and settled one mile and a half east of the present site of Taylorsville. In this family, Tunis Quick, who was now nearly 25 years old, found a sweet, blue-eyed, sunny-haired girl of 17, who soon became the choice of his heart. Her name was Susanna Records. She was attractive in person, more so in character, and their marriage, which occurred in September, 1822, was a happy one.

By that time the house had been enlarged and improved, and the young couple were quite comfortably situated for

pioneers. Some glass window lights, which were a novelty in the neighborhood, had been put in, instead of the greased paper, through which the light came but dimly in those early homes. A board floor was also laid instead of the dirt floor which was common at that time. Pieces of wood were inserted between the logs of the houses, extending far enough into the room for the width of a bed or table and on these were laid boards to be used for such furniture. Rustic benches and stools, made from forest timber, served for seats at first, but it was not long until chairs and other furniture of various kinds were made in the neighborhood. The first chair owned by Tunis Quick, and the only one in his home when he was married, was made by Mignon Boaz, a Baptist preacher, who lived near, on the bluff bank of Flat Rock.

The pioneers were not dependent upon material things for happiness. Their lives were full of heroic purpose, and the pioneer women were helpmates for their husbands in the truest sense. They spun and wove flax, cotton and wool into cloth for table and bed linen, and to make garments for their rapidly increasing families. Some of them were very expert in dying wool and cotton, in fast and beautiful colors. Also in weaving different patterns for table-cloths and counterpanes. Such energy and industry as was shown by both sexes, was not without reward, and soon "the wilderness blossomed as the rose."

The march of progress was rapid with the passing of the years. Orchards were planted, crops of many kinds were raised, and neighbors vied with each other in a good-natured way in making improvements. Fever and ague were prevalent, and sometimes an epidemic of flux, or some other dreadful disease, carried off their little ones, and some grown people, so that they had their full share of sorrow as well as joy.

As early as 1821, the Flat Rock Baptist church was organized, and not long afterwards a log house of worship was built on the bluff bank of Flat Rock. Near the church, a little cemetery was begun, and less than a mile away, there was soon another burying place for the beloved ones who were passing away.

Pioneer preachers proclaimed the gospel, sometimes with

much performance of physical power and salutary spiritual effect. A Bible and hymn book could be found in nearly every home, though other books were very scarce, and novel reading was considered quite disreputable, for, to the pioneers, life was indeed real and earnest.

Schools were taught by men who came from the indefinite east for that purpose, for no woman would have been considered able to control a school. There was discipline in the schools and also in the homes of those days—sometimes too severe; but better perhaps for the formation of character than the laxity of government which prevails at present.

As the years passed by and families grew larger, additions were built to the houses, more of the comforts of life were enjoyed, and the duties and responsibilities of citizenship were also increased and recognized.

Columbus was the seat of justice, and justice was sometimes administered in very peculiar ways by officers there; and in various parts of the country.

Jack Jones, who kept a tavern, called "The Jones House", on the southwest corner of Washington and Second streets, was elected justice of the peace. A fight was going on at a furious rate in front of the tavern when Tunis Quick arrived on horseback. He greeted Mr. Jones by saying: "Jack, I thought you were elected to command the peace." "And I will", thundered Mr. Jones, as he rushed out to the woodpile, and seized a large limb which had been cut from a tree. Pushing his way through the crowd which had gathered, he ran in between the combatants and shouted in stentorian tones: "I command the peace", and peace was immediately restored.

A similar case occurred in Flatrock township when Tunis Quick was justice of the peace. A man who lived nearly a half mile away, was in the habit of coming home drunk and whipping his wife. Tunis Quick, who had remonstrated with him in vain, finally told him that people were too much disgusted with his way of doing to allow it much longer, and that if he did not put a stop to it, somebody else would be treating him just like he treated his wife.

Not long afterwards, in the dusk of a drizzly day, just as the evening "chores" were all done, the abused wife was heard

screaming at the top of her voice. Tunis Quick turned his coat wrong side out, drew an old broad-rimmed hat well down over his face, and proceeded to administer justice in a most emphatic way, by giving the man a well-deserved whipping. The wife interfered at last, and was in the act of pulling the hat off the head of her deliverer, who immediately started away, in a different direction from his home, adding as he went that next time he would give the culprit more of the same kind. The next morning the man came down "to swear out a writ before the squire", but as he was unable to tell who "assaulted and battered" him, the case was dismissed.

In those days, letters were like angels' visit—few and far between, and highly prized. They were written on large sheets of paper, one page of which was left blank. The letter was then carefully folded, with the blank side out, properly addressed, and sealed with a wafer, but was sent without postage. No letters could be delivered, however, until 25 cents postage was paid by the would-be recipient.

One day in the Columbus postoffice, Tunis Quick saw two sisters crying. They had recently been married in Kentucky, and had come with their husbands to settle in Bartholomew county. When asked the cause of their distress, they replied that a letter was there from their old home, and they had no money to pay the postage. It was only a neighborly kindness for one who had 25 cents to pay the postage and deliver the letter. Tears were dried, earnest thanks were expressed, and though the money was soon repaid, sincere gratitude found expression, through different members of these families, for more than one generation.

Before any railroads were built through the country, the pioneers hauled the products of their farms to Madison or Lawrenceburg, and brought home necessary commodities of different kinds. Quite a number of men usually went together, with wagons and four-horse teams. They camped over night by the way, sometimes sleeping in their wagons, and sometimes on blankets, spread on the ground, under the trees. The journey was long and tedious, but there were compensations. Some of the men had a fine sense of humor,

and a good relish for jokes; so the time generally passed very pleasantly.

It was "the rule of the road" that empty wagons should always "turn out" for loaded ones; but a man whom they sometimes met, boasted that he never had "turned out" for anyone, and that he never would "turn out". As the party of men around the campfire one night, were talking about the surly one they expected to meet the next day, Tunis Quick said, "He will turn out for me, tomorrow"—and he did. Soon after the party of men started on their journey the next day, they saw the churlish one approaching with his empty wagon in the middle of the road. As soon as he was near enough, Tunis Quick fixed his eyes upon him, and called to him that if he did not "turn out" of the road, he might expect just such treatment as was given to a man the day before. When the loaded wagon came alongside the empty one, the man said: "How did you treat that man yesterday?" "I turned out, myself", was the reply amidst hearty cheers from the rest of the party.

The roads at that time were bad in many places, and it was almost impossible for loaded wagons to travel outside of the beaten track. No vehicles except wagons were obtainable in the new country, neither could they have been used in but few places; so travelers went either on foot, horse-back, or in wagons.

Tunis Quick liked to relate the experience of himself and his wife when they visited her parents. At first, they both rode on a little Indian pony and if Flatrock was high, they crossed it in a canoe with the pony swimming behind. As their family increased they each rode a horse, carrying a baby in front, and as the children increased in numbers and size, the larger ones were mounted behind. Once the wife's horse laid down in the water, and when she was rescued by her husband, she was holding her baby boy in such a close embrace that he was almost unconscious. Later, when there were more children, if the whole family went visiting, the horses were hitched to the wagon, chairs were set in for the parents, and the children were seated on straw in the bottom of the wagon.

Men who rode on horse-back when it was muddy, wore

leggins, made of thick, heavy cloth, and reaching from the tops of the feet to the knees. They were buttoned or tied securely, and were quite a protection from wet, cold and mud. The men also carried saddle bags, which held changes of clothing, or other necessities.

The women wore riding skirts to protect their dresses. These riding skirts had large pockets on the left side, and were very convenient for carrying necessary articles.

Tunis Quick and his wife kept abreast of the times. - They interested themselves in having the best teachers for their children and in keeping up religious services in the Baptist church, and other places of worship. They also encouraged the teachers of singing schools, or any other specialties which they thought would be for the good of their family or the neighborhood.

They bought improved utensils to use in their home and on the farm. They bought one of the two first cooking stoves that were brought from Madison. Also one of the first bureaus, bedsteads, tables and chairs of various shapes and sizes.

Their library was very small at first, but was gradually increased, as occasion demanded. A few law books were necessary, and to these a book of history or biography was occasionally added; and besides they had the Bible and the hymns of Isaac Watts, each of which is a library in itself. Isaac Watts was a favorite poet with some of the pioneers, and they read or sang his hymns with pleasure and enthusiasm.

The first newspapers for the two political parties in Indiana were the *State Sentinel* for the Democrats and the *Indiana Journal*, later the *Indianapolis Journal*, for the Whigs. Both papers were published in Indianapolis and both were read with much interest; for the pioneers were patriotic and political.

Tunis Quick was a Whig until the Republican party was founded, when he became a member of that party. But he was never a bitter partisan and always treated his opponents with courtesy. He was always interested in public affairs, and was often asked to write wills, settle estates and be guardian for orphan children; in all of which he was honest,

capable and trustworthy, winning the respect and gratitude of the interested parties.

At that time there was a probate court "for proving the genuineness and validity of wills, their registry and such other proceedings as the law prescribed, preliminary to the execution of the will by the executor." For this court there was a judge called "a judge of probate", or "probate judge". This office was satisfactorily filled for six years by Tunis Quick.

He was also a member of the state legislature for two terms. Some of his letters, written to his wife during that time, in 1840, '41 and '42, are still cherished by members of his family. These letters are written in a firm, plain hand, and in the dignified style of a gentleman of the old school, reminding one of the letters of George Washington. He addresses his wife in most endearing terms, and sends messages to each of his children, counselling them to be obedient to their mother. He shows the most tender concern for the entire family, including the parents of his wife, who were members of his household.

He mentions the business of the legislature as "necessary work for the good of our country", involving some hardships and sacrifices, and especially the absence from home, adding that he does not wish to make such a sacrifice again. He is determined, however, to do his duty to the best of his ability while there, and speaks of his colleagues with respect and admiration.¹

He was much interested in having the railroad built from Madison to Indianapolis, as he was tired of riding forty miles on horseback, through the mud, from his home to Indianapolis; and hauling grain and goods with a four-horse team, back and forth from his Bartholomew county home to Madison and Lawrenceburg. Some members of the legislature very bitterly opposed building the railroad, and declared that it would never pay expenses; but the "ayes had it", to their great satisfaction, and inexpressible benefit to their posterity.

The characters of such men as Judge Quick were invaluable during the pioneer work of the county and state. One who knew him well said: "Judge Quick had his full share

¹ See letters at close of this article.

of the pleasures, responsibilities and hardships of pioneer life, did his whole duty as a citizen; and as much as any other man in developing the county from its primitive state to its present condition." To this was added by another admirer: "His courage, activity, intelligence and uprightness have never been questioned." His wife was a true helpmate, and in every way worthy of such a husband. They lived happily together for more than sixty years on the farm which was bought at the "land sale" at Brookville, in 1820.

They had eleven children, eight of whom lived to maturity. It was one of Judge Quick's ambitions to give to each one of these children "a quarter section" of good land, which he accomplished, besides accumulating some other property. One farm of more than eighty acres, which he owned, is now all inside the corporation of Columbus, and a part of it is known as "Quick Heirs Addition."

But the accumulation of property was not the chief aim of Judge Quick and his wife. They lived honest, industrious, Christian lives, both being members of the Baptist church. Theirs was a successful life in the truest sense, and they "entered into rest" full of years and honors, and affectionately cherished in memory.

The Quick Family In America²

Burke's *Landed Gentry of England* (Petersburg, Va., public library) states that the Quick family came from Holland to England in the year 1445, having been forced to leave Holland during one of the religious wars. They were people of some prominence and wealth, acquired land in England, and later the head of the family was knighted as Sir John Quick. The estate is at St. Cyrus or St. Ives, Cornwall. The family crest is given in Burke. The head of the family has not always been named John; presumably the oldest son named John died and a younger son inherited the title and estates, but Burke gives Sir John Quick as the head of the family at the time his book was published. Several of the younger sons of the succeeding generations rose to prominence, one of them being _____ Quick who was appointed by the crown as governor of Tunis, Africa, and who named one of his sons Tunis Quick. Tunis Quick, whose grandfather was the head of the estate in England, being a younger son, decided to emigrate to America about 1700, and was the head of our American family.

Between the above Tunis Quick and Tunis Quick of Martinsburg, W. Va., are the names of Morgan, John, James, Samuel and Charles. Tunis Quick landed in New York, and either he or his descendants went to New Jersey and thence to Virginia. There is a monument to Samuel Quick in New Jersey, erected in memory of his having rescued the community from the Indians.

Probably the first record of the Quicks in Virginia is to be found in Stafford courthouse, Stafford county, Virginia. In the earlier days Stafford county embraced all the country west of the Potomac river and included Berkley county, Virginia, now West Virginia. The records in Stafford show the family to have been among the first families and the records in Berkley county at Martinsburg run back to the first records of the county.

The records at Martinsburg, Berkley county, show several deeds and leases made, one being a deed for 383 acres of land from Lord Fairfax. Another was a lease of land from Tunis

²By Spencer Records Quick, aged 92, 1864 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis, Ind. July, 1920.

Quick to a Jacob Beller for 500 years for a certain number of peppercorns per year. A more thorough search of the records would probably divulge other valuable records. Tunis Quick II and his wife Lenah had three sons, Tunis Quick III, James Quick and Oakley Quick. Tunis Quick III married Ruth Gorrell and James Quick married Hannah Gorrell. Do not know whom Oakley Quick married, but there is now living at Frankfort, Indiana, a Miss Oakley Quick, and in Madison county, Indiana, a Mr. Oakley Quick. Tunis and James married sisters. Their father-in-law was a Gorrell, from England and his father was Sir John Gorrell. The mother of Ruth and Hannah Gorrell was a Hedges, a daughter of Sir Charles Hedges who was secretary to Queen Anne, 1702.

Sons:

1. James Quick, born Martinsburg, Va., 1770, died Bartholomew county, Ind., June 26, 1847.

First wife, Hannah Gorrell. Children: William, Tunis, Lenah and James. William died unmarried. Tunis married Susanah Records. Lenah married Fergus Moore. James married Elizabeth Goodwin.

Third wife, Susannah Pancake McConnell. Children: Samuel, Agnes, Elizabeth and Martin. Samuel married Margaret Gonse, no heirs. Agnes married Daniel Lambert; children, Thomas, Elizabeth, Samuel and Alice. Elizabeth married Reuben Hayworth, no heirs. Martin married Matilda Owens, no heirs.

2. Tunis Quick III, born Martinsburg, Va., Mar. 13, 1797; died Bartholomew county, Ind., Feb. 24, 1883. Married Susannah Records, Sept. 3, 1823; died June 5, 1884.

Susannah Records' (wife of Tunis Quick) father was Captain Spencer Records, appointed captain by the governor of Virginia in 1791. He surveyed and laid out some of the principal highways in Kentucky and was appointed captain in 1793 by the governor of Kentucky. He was born in Sussex, Delaware, lived in Pennsylvania and Kentucky and died in Indiana, aged 88, Feb. 17, 1850. His father was Capt. Josiah Records, who first drove a wagon in the Revolutionary war and was later made captain. Capt. Spencer Records' wife was Elizabeth Elrod and her father and mother were John Elrod and Mary _____, of Virginia. Sussanah Tully was the wife of Capt. Josiah Records and the mother of Capt. Spencer Records.

Children of Tunis Quick and Susannah Records: Smith William, Morgan John, Harris, Spencer Records, James Hoagland, Tunis Gorrell, Josiah Tully, Hannah Gorrell, William Harrison, Samuel Tompkins, Rachel Nelson.

(1) Smith William died in infancy.

(2) Morgan John was born September 25, 1825, and died in 1913. He married Isabel Hoskinson, who died in 1918. Celebrated their 66th wedding anniversary Sept., 1910. Children: Tunis, Hannah, Hugh Samuel, John Spencer, Belle, Ezra, Morgan Gorrell, Kate and Lizzie.

It was the request of Hannah Gorrell, the wife of James Quick, that the name of Gorrell should never go out of the Quick family. At the present time there is Tunis Gorrell Quick, of Columbus, Indiana, and Morgan Gorrell Quick, son of Morgan John Quick, a Baptist minister of Jersey City, New Jersey.

The name Tunis should never go out of the family after all these years.

(3) Harris died in infancy.

(4) Spencer Records Quick, born July 26, 1828; wife, Katherine Madora Hauser, born April 21, 1831; married April 10, 1860. Died Sept. 17, 1889.

Katharine Madora Hauser's father was Jacob Hauser of North Carolina (Salem). His parents were Abraham Hauser and Mary Magdalene Strupe, both of Salem, North Carolina. His father was Martin Hauser born in 1696, in Mumpolgard, Switzerland; died in 1761. Katharine Madora Hauser's mother was Nancy Sims of Tennessee, lived to be 96 years old, whose parents were Joshua Sims of Tennessee and Agnes Boaz, whose father was Bednigo Boaz. Joshua Sims' parents were William Sims and Mildred Russell, of Virginia.

Children of Spencer Records and Katherine Madora: Walter Jacob, Mary Katharine, Austin Tunis and Homer Spencer.

Walter Jacob Quick, born May 24, 1861. Married Anna Foster. Children: Anna Katharine, married Scott C. Bicknell, one child, Ernest P. Bicknell II. Walter's second wife, Mary A. Mitchell, children: Walter Jacob Quick II, William Mitchell Quick and Burnet Bentley Quick.

Mary Katharine Quick, born Jan. 28, 1865. Married Harry Kentley Burnet of Vincennes, Dec. 25, 1889. Harry Burnet's father and mother were Stephen Burnet and Laura Bentley of Chagrin Falls, Ohio.

Austin Tunis Quick, born Sept. 24, 1863. Married Alice May Hess

Dec. 28, 1887. Children: Austin Tunis Quick II (see below), Alice May Hess is a daughter of Dr. John Henry Hess, born in Lewisburg, W. Va., Dec. 4, 18—, died in May, 1888. His father was William Henry Hess, of Lewisburg, Greenbrier Co., Va. (W. Va.). His father was Jacob Hess of Martinsburg, Berkley county, Va. (W. Va.) and witnessed deeds for Tunis Quick in 1780. Dr. John Hess' mother was Elizabeth Jamison and her mother was a Dyke. Alice May Hess' mother was Martha Donnelly, born in Lewisburg, Greenbrier county, Va. Her father and mother were Charles Donnelly and Cynthia Williams. Charles Donnelly's father and mother were James Donnelly and Rachel Blake. Cynthia Williams' father and mother were Capt. John T. Williams and Martha McMillian. James Donnelly's father and mother were Col. Andrew Donnelly and Mary Van Bibber. The Donnelly name is French and was d'Annelly. See the records of King George countyhouse, Va.

Austin Tunis Quick II, born March 8, 1889. Wife, Victoria Kinnier. Married Oct. 22, 1913. Children: Austin Tunis Quick III, born Sept. 27, 1914; William Kinnier Quick, born Nov. 8, 1917.

Homer Spencer Quick, born Jan. 29, 1869, married Emma King, whose father was George King of Columbus, Ind. Children: Mary Margaret Quick, born Nov. 16, 1891. Husband, John D. Culp. Married August 23, 1917. Children: Virginia Margaret Quick, born Dec. 8, 1919; Spencer Spurgeon Quick, born April 30, 1896. Wife, Alyda Robinson. Married Sept., 1918.

(5) James Hoagland Quick, born Nov. 1, 1830; died Dec. 15, 1899; married Ellen Van Schoyck, who died Dec. 31, 1908. Children: George Washington, Evan Snead, William White, Lillian, married H. A. Hughes of Columbus.

(6) Tunis Gorrell Quick, born Jan. 30, 1833; married Elizabeth Cox, who died April 20, 1903. Children: Mary Alice, married Charles Hege. She died June 10th, 1910. Kate, died May 12, 1880.

(7) Josiah Tully Quick, born Aug. 7, 1835; died Dec. 15, 1899. Married Melissa Jones. He served in the Civil war, Co. H, 12th Ind. infantry, from 1861 to 1866. Children: Laura, Western, Edgar, Ella, Elizabeth, Frank, Oscar and Cordelia.

(8) Hannah Gorrell Quick, born Feb. 16, 1838, unmarried. She inherited Judge Quick's home and has always lived there. This home has been in the family since 1819 and there has never been a deed or a mortgage on the land since it was deeded to Tunis Quick by the government. It bears the name "Heartsease."

(9) William Harrison died in infancy.

(10) Samuel Thomkins Quick, born Oct. 14, 1843; married Elizabeth Dodds, daughter of Dr. Dodds of Bloomington, Ind. Children: Louis, Mary, Ritchie and Ralph, twins, Susan and Anne twins.

(11) Rachel Nelson Quick, born Dec. 19, 1847, married Samuel D. Buttz. Children: Mabel, born at Columbus, married Willis Gorrell, whose father, William Gorrell, was a cousin of Judge Tunis Quick. Mabel's children are Paul, Glen, Ralph, Bertha and Louise.

Another branch of the family is recently mentioned in the London *Mail* in a half column article which says that Sir John Quick was born in Trevassa, near St. Ives, Cornwall, England, April 14, 1852. He is a descendant of an old established family of landed proprietors. The family went to Australia, where by hard work and much study John obtained the degree of Doctor of Law, became a member of the house of representatives, the author of several standard works among them being *The Annotated Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth*. For his work he was knighted. This Sir John Quick is the son of a younger set of the original Sir John Quick.

James Quick, desiring to see the great west, moved near Circleville, O., on the Scioto river and remained there a few years, then went down the river to the Ohio and thence to Madison, Indiana, in 1817. His son Tunis, in company with Isaac Pancake, with their guns and ammunition and knapsacks, started out to explore the country and find a good farming location. They followed Indian trails, traveling in a northwesterly direction over the route that afterwards became the Madison and Indianapolis state road. They passed through what was later known as the Hawpatch in Bartholomew county, they went as far north as Indianapolis, then returned to the Hawpatch and took a squatters right to 160 acres of land, built a cabin and commenced "a clearing" to plant in the coming spring. They then returned to Madison and in the early spring assisted James Quick and family to move to the new cabin which was destined to be their permanent home.

Quite a few families arrived this year (1819) and the people went for miles to assist each other in rolling logs to clear the ground and build their meager homes.

William Chapman built the first house in the county seat. Jacob Hauser and Joseph Lochenour, from North Carolina, and Tunis Quick, helped him with the building in 1820 or 1821. There was quite an increase in the population of the county. The land in this part of the state came into market by the government and was sold at Brookville, Indiana. James and Tunis Quick bought their 160 acres at this time. It has been owned and occupied continuously by them and

their descendants without the title going out of the family and not a mortgage, judgment or lien of any kind against it. It is a rare occurrence that a farm is owned and occupied with a clear title for one hundred years by the same family.

Tunis Quick was made justice of the peace of Flatrock township and served for several years in that capacity. Later he was elected representative to the legislature for Bartholomew and Brown counties. Later still, he served for many years as judge of the county court. Probably he settled more estates than any man in that county at the time and was known as an able jurist. He owned a good library for that early day and was widely read to the degree of being a student.

He gave the ground and was instrumental in having the township build a school house with regular school sessions. His house was the center of the community and he took an interest in the welfare of everyone. He pulled their teeth, settled their disputes, performed their marriages. He annually brought into his family a tailor and shoemaker who made and repaired the family wardrobe.

His home was always open to the teacher who must board around, not always finding comfortable quarters; the itinerant preacher who traveled through the country always found a warm welcome and a place to relieve the burden of his soul. Judge Quick would put his several boys on horseback and send them as runners through the country announcing there would be preaching at a certain time. The audience was never failing as all seemed anxious to hear the word of God. The lecturer, too, always had his interested audience with his knowledge of the outer world, on spiritualism, hypnotism, ventriloquism and other isms of the day.

The politicians knew him far and wide and called at his house frequently remaining over night. Henry Clay was one of his special friends and was in the group of enthusiasts that rode on horseback to the Tippecanoe Battle Ground in the Harrison campaign in 1840. This same year Governor Metcalf, Senator Crittenden and Henry Clay stopped at Columbus and the Whigs from the surrounding country went in to hear them speak. Metcalf and Crittenden could not satisfy the crowd, who wanted to hear Clay who was at the

hotel resting. They sent a committee after him consisting of William Herod and others, Herod being well acquainted with Clay while serving in congress. Clay made a wonderful speech, but one fellow yelled "hurrah for Jackson". Clay straightened himself up, looking a foot taller and in his drastic manner said: "You say, 'Hurrah for Jackson'. I say, 'Hurrah for my Country.'" The unlucky fellow was the cause of the audience hearing one of the most eloquent, scathing and tremendous speeches ever uttered by man. He denounced Jackson and his administration. His words were so burning, his audience so in sympathy and the excitement so intense, that it was with difficulty that the Jackson man was taken from the room by his friends. Clay spoke for half an hour, and when he finished his admirers followed him to the hotel cheering. The next morning the noted Kentuckians started for their homes traveling in their private conveyances.

William Henry Harrison was nominated for president of the United States and Tyler for vice-president. The country was wild with its "Hurrah for Harrison and Reform" and "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too".

This campaign was known as the hard cider campaign. At that time Brown and Bartholomew counties elected state senators and representatives together. The democratic candidates were Maj. Tannehill for senator and Col. T. G. Lee for representative. The Whigs were William Terrell, a Methodist minister for senator and Tunis Quick for representative. It was a hot campaign, the candidates stumped the two counties, traveling horseback. At that time the majority of the people voted at the county seat. Tunis Quick lived on the most public road leading to Columbus. He had a large apple orchard and he had made a great many barrels of cider to be given away on election day which was held on the first Monday in August.

The emblems of the hard cider campaign were buckeye log cabins, coon skin caps with a buckeye cane. The morning of the election he had several barrels of cider rolled out to the large front gate at his home, the gate post being decorated with log cabins and coon skins. The barrels were so arranged that his little boys could draw the cider in tin cups and give it to all who passed.

There were a great many barrels of cider taken to the courthouse yard at Columbus. The heads were taken out of the barrels and tin cups placed so that all could help themselves. Cider was free for all.

The Democrats in order to compete with the Whigs bought barrels of corn whisky, which was very cheap at that time, and placed it in the courthouse yard near the public well and also placed a barrel of sugar, with the head knocked out and tin cups near, so that all could help themselves and make their own "grog". Towards evening a great many were drunk. They said it was too much trouble to make and mix their own "grog", so they poured the barrel of whiskey and the barrel of sugar into the well and then "grog" was ready on a large scale and was pumped freely for all.

I was twelve years old then and it was my first time to see or know anything about an election for president. The wild yelling, singing, fisticuff and fighting, the bloody noses and faces, all made an impression on me never to be forgotten. Harrison and Tyler were elected president and vice-president, and my father to the legislature.

One of the first water mills in Bartholomew county for grinding corn into meal for the pioneer's use, was on Flat Rock river, about six miles north of Columbus near the present county bridge, leading from Columbus to Taylorsville through the Hawpatch. This mill was a hand mill that some pioneer had brought with him. It was hard work and slow work to grind by hand. This man conceived the idea of running it by water so that it might run day and night to accommodate all who might come. Before this no one was allowed to bring more than one bushel of corn at a time which they generally carried in a sack on the shoulder. When they arrived at the mill they had to await their turn and then turn the mill by hand themselves. During the waiting time they would visit, crack jokes, etc. Nathan Bass who was quite a joker and wit, said "the mill was the most industrious little thing that he ever saw, that when one grain was ground it would jump right on to another."

There was a place where the water ran very swiftly. The miller cut a small tree that was quite tall and with the help of his neighbors placed it across Flatrock. He put one end in

the fork of a tree and the other end on a post that had a crotch or fork similar to the one on the opposite side of the river. In the center of the river were paddles or wings that extended into the water so that the current of the water would roll the log and would keep it whirling over and over. On the end of the pole next to his mill he put a pulley or large wheel for a belt and from that to his mill, so the rolling of the pole by the water would run his mill day and night if necessary. With this modern improvement customers did not have to wait so long for their meal. This crude water power was the forerunner of a dam being built across the river near this point and a flour-mill, woolen factory and saw-mill located here. This became quite a little manufacturing center at one time, a village of about three hundred people but when the railroad came the factories were all moved to Columbus near the station. So the village soon became deserted.

The community changed rapidly. Many country schools of fifty to sixty pupils are entirely out of existence. The land has been bought by the wealthy men and converted into large farms. The children now attend some district center or go to town to school. The timber has been nearly all cut away, the fields are large and cultivated by machinery—they produce more to the acre now than they did fifty years ago, and it is more easily cultivated as the stumps and roots are all gone; the country is all in cultivation and produces three times as much as it did, with less labor. The land now is selling for \$200 or \$250 per acre. When I first recollect it sold from \$2 to \$10. My father bought a farm of 100 acres for \$10 per acre amounting to \$1,000. He also bought the first farm that sold for \$50 per acre, one hundred acres for \$5,000. Francis J. Crump who was the wealthiest man at that time in the county, owned more land than any one else, said to my father "My God, Judge, what do you mean by paying such a price for farm land, you nor I will never see it worth any more". They both lived to see it sell for \$100 per acre. My father's home place of 160 acres bought at the government sale in 1821 cost \$1.25 an acre. It is still in the Quick name. Father deeded it to my oldest sister Hannah Quick who never married and is now eighty-two years old.

At present it is worth \$250 per acre. I have lived to see the price of land go from \$5 to \$250 per acre. Then two-thirds of it was in timber, now vast fields of golden grain abound.

Formerly there was a family of ten to fifteen children on every 40 to 160 acres. It was an old saying "that the more children the richer the farmer grew", the more land he could clear and the more he could cultivate without hiring help. The size of the families was the cause of such large schools all through the country. We only had three or four months of school a year. We had no school funds. Each patron would subscribe as many pupils as he thought he could spare and would pay for that many. In addition to that he had to furnish, cut and deliver a half cord of wood to the school house for each scholar. The teacher collected his own money from the patrons. He boarded around among the families—so long for each pupil. He carried his dinner with him.

Some times we would have a summer school of a few months taught by a lady or some student who wanted to make expenses. At such times the small children would attend the school. Our school books were the elementary spelling book, that had from the A, B, C's to the grammar, Talbot's Arithmetic, the English Reader, the Testament and the Lives of Our Great Men, Washington, Marion, Benjamin Franklin, Daniel Boone, David Crockett and others. Our spelling, reading and grammar we got from the spelling book. I have known children to go to school three months with no book but the alphabet and their spelling lesson pasted on a paddle made of a shingle or piece of board. When it would become soiled so that they could not use it they would have another one pasted over it. Many of our best business men, bankers, jurists and judges only attended school six months at a time, yet they were very successful, some even becoming millionaires and many accumulating their thousands, men who could scarcely write a legible hand.

When I was a boy there were three brothers by the name of Thayer who came to our country from the east. They were called Yankees. Each bought some cheap land, Joseph on a small creek, called Tuft creek, from the fact that it ran through a low swampy country and was miry so that cattle

could only cross it in certain places. He made his living principally by hunting, trapping and making salaratus by burning a certain kind of timber and using the ashes, and selling it to the housewives to raise the bread in place of soda. He dressed or tanned deer and other skins such as otter, coon, mink or any furbearing animal. He also hunted the wild bees, cutting the trees to get the bees and honey to sell and use. He found a bee tree on the Drake farm. It was a large fine oak tree. The bees were in a large limb near the top. He went to see Mr Drake about cutting the tree. Drake said, "No, it is a fine tree, I want it to make boards when I build a barn, and I'm not able to build for a few years. If you can get the bees without cutting the tree down you are welcome to them." He went away and Drake thought no more about it. Some months afterward, while squirrel hunting in that part of his timber, Drake saw the tree ruined by being bored full of holes and wooden pins driven in from bottom to top of the tree. He had bored a hole about three feet from the ground, put a long heavy pin in it, gotten on it and bored another and so on until he reached the limb that held the bees. This he went out on, sawed the outer end off, then went back to the body of the tree, fastened a rope around the limb and tied it to a pin, then sawed the limb off and let it down with the rope. Mr. Drake said he could not say anything to Thayer, as he had told him he could have the bees if he would not cut down the tree. All he did was blame himself.

Thayer came by father's once in November. It had been raining for two or three days. He had been to the east fork of White river, trapping and hunting. He led a small donkey loaded with traps and skins. I saw him coming up the road. I told him that a coon lived in one of the top limbs of a large black walnut tree just a little way back of the barn. I told him to put his donkey in the straw shed where he would be in the dry and could eat straw. Then I showed him a black walnut tree that was about three and a half feet in diameter and forty feet to the first limb. I said, "I think the coon lives in the hole in that largest limb." After he examined the tree he said that it had been climbing up and down and showed me the scratches. A hackberry tree grew some eight

feet from the walnut and was very tall. Thayer took off his outer coat, put his little axe in his belt and climbed the hackberry. He cut off the very top and then trimmed the limbs off down to and opposite the large branch of the walnut tree. When he could push the hackberry over on the walnut, he took his belt and fastened it there. He walked over on it to the walnut and out on the limb to the hole, where he knelt and pushed his axe handle into it saying, "Cooney here?" Then he cut a larger hole in the limb, killed the coon with the axe, and threw it down, came down as he went up, put on his coat, picked up the coon and was ready to go, but as wet as water could make him. I took him to the house for something to eat, but he would not go in because his clothes smelled too badly of musk rats and skins. However, I took him to the kitchen where the maid gave him a hot cup of coffee and let him warm, for which he thanked me many times for years.

His brother, Charles Thayer, bought a small tract of land and commenced clearing it after building a cabin home and covering it with bark from dead trees. He climbed the trees and cut the top out, then as he came down he cut all the limbs off. He said that was easier than to cut the trees down and have the bodies of the tree to burn. Burning the limbs around the tree would kill the tree and it was no more in the way than the stump would be. He finally concluded that it was easier to deaden the trees by chopping around them in June when the sap was up. When dead they could easily be burnt up. He never made a success as he was too lazy to work or hunt except when compelled to. The other brother, Ira, got forty acres of land on Haw creek, built a little corn cracker mill, also a saw-mill and made a fair living. He had but little education, was a great abolitionist and would try to make abolition speeches. For a joke my father had him elected justice of the peace for Flatrock township to defeat a man by the name of Hege who boasted that he had married into the McQueen family which was a royal family and they could control the vote of the township; that no one could beat him but Judge Quick for that office. Father spent a couple of days in the township, and elected Thayer. He gave bond, took the office and a man from near Hope in

Hawcreek township was the first to have a suit in Thayer's court. His name was Calvin Bloom. When he came up for trial he saw that Thayer did not know how to try a case. Bloom got mad, called Thayer a fool and said he would give him a dollar to resign his office. Thayer took the dollar and resigned.

Joseph Thayer, the hunter and trapper, made more money and a better living than either of his brothers. He had a good farm and raised a large family. He learned how to dress fur pelts, also the deer pelt for gloves and whang leather for shoe strings and belts. I bought of him two very fine otter skins nicely dressed for my wife to have her first set of furs, and when they were made up they were very beautiful. The trapping and hunting of the fur-bearing animals was profitable in those days, and it was also necessary in order to protect the corn crops, as the raccoons, opossums and squirrels were very numerous. As many as 70 or 80 were killed in a day.

The wild turkeys were also numerous, the deer would eat the corn at any stage of its growth to maturity. The raccoons and opossums infested the corn fields by night, breaking down the stalks and eating the roasting ears, or leaving it to go to waste. There was something to destroy the corn crop from the time it was planted until it was matured and in the crib. The crow and the chipmunk would pull it up when it began to come up, to get the grain, the muskrat would cut it down at any stage where it was near the water, so that eternal vigilance was necessary on the part of the farmer. His children and their dogs were continuously on the outlook for vermin, in order to have plenty of meal for their johnny cakes, corn dodgers and to feed their hogs for meat or bacon for the coming season. They gathered their corn by pulling the ear off the stalk, hauling and piling under sheds, then husking at their leisure. They saved the husks for feed for the cows. Poorer farmers who did not have sheds would put the corn in a large pile, make a corn shucking by inviting all the neighbors to come at night and help. They would furnish them some whiskey to drink and after the corn was husked give them their suppers and a dance.

In the fall and winter the farmer and his boys would have their turn. Then the raccoons paid for their pilfering with their pelts. Snares, dead falls and steel traps were set about the corn fields and in places where they frequented such as bayous and marshes, where frogs abounded which were their natural food. In this way many coons and fur-bearing animals were caught.

When the men and boys wanted a night of sport they went coon hunting. A number would get together, some with axes, others to carry the old fashioned tin lantern, or torches made of hickory bark, which could be replenished at any old shell bark hickory tree. All the coon dogs, always including the lop-eared hounds, followed. They would start soon after dark and go along the creeks, marshes or pawpaw thickets, and when the dogs would strike a trail music would begin. Then the hunters would rush through the woods over logs through the brush or briars over the fences aiming to keep within hearing distance of the dogs. When they ran the raccoon to ground or up a tree all would make a rush crying, "They have him treed." If the tree was not too large or valuable the axes were plied at once. When the tree was about ready to fall the members of the party except an axe man and one torch man would scatter well out of the reach of the falling tree and hold the dogs until the tree fell to the ground. Then the dogs would rush in and make short work of the coon. The party would move on till the dogs struck another coon trail or treed a possum in a bush. A damp foggy night was best as the scent of the animal was more perceptible and more animals were out on the trail so that many fine coon pelts would be secured besides those of a few possums thrown in for good measure. The skins were taken off at once and the next day they were carefully cleaned and stretched and hung or tacked against the cabin to dry.

There are always some funny incidents happen with all such hunting parties. I recollect that once on a hunt we had a man with us who was slow of speech and stammered. The dogs treed a coon up a small dead elm in a corn field. He said, "It will be hard to cut and I will climb it and shake the raccoon out." He proceeded to climb, at once, with the

aid of the men boosting him until he could reach the first limb. He got up quite a ways when he caught hold of a dead limb that broke. He fell to the ground, immediately the dogs piled onto him and pulled at him as though they would tear him to pieces. He hollered, "Gi-gi-git out—I'm n-n-rio rah-coon," and the wit of our crowd was a Pennsylvania Dutchman who roared out laughing. Someone said, "What's the matter, Charlie?" "Why, that fool can't say coon without putting rah to it when he is being half killed."

Our next catch was a fine, large, fat opossum which Charlie proposed to eat, building a fire to roast it. He went home, which was not far, and got some bread, as his wife had baked a brick oven full that day. One of the boys went with him and carried a torch. We soon had a fine fire and the opossum roasting near it. Presently Charlie and his torch-bearer came with large loaves of bread and two apple pies—we all gave him three cheers. We sat around the fire and told hunting experiences and jokes. When the opossum was done we had a feast not forgotten soon. All gave Charlie's wife a vote of thanks for her bread and pie and passed a resolution: "Resolved, that Mrs. Charlie Bruner was the best baker in the township." After which we adjourned for the night and plodded our weary way homeward.

The first railroad was built in this state from Madison to Indianapolis via Vernon, Columbus, Edinburg and Franklin. When it was completed as far as Columbus, there was one train a day each way. Our roads through the state were unimproved and principally through the woods without bridges across any of the water courses. My mother was very sick and my father wanted Dr. Todd from Vernon. There were no telephones, telegraph or daily mail. The quickest, best and only way was to send someone on horseback for the doctor—a distance of twenty-five miles. It was ten o'clock at night when father called me, saying, "Get up and get ready as soon as you can, you must go to Vernon for the doctor." He then called my older brother and told him to go and get Jock saddled and bring him out for me to ride, he being the best traveling horse we had. When I was ready to start, father said, "Don't spare the horse, you must get there by six in the morning. Go to Dr. Todd's home

and tell him to make the morning train at eight a. m. I will meet him at Columbus. After you have done that take your horse to the livery barn, water and feed him, then get your breakfast. Ask the landlord for a bed and tell him to call you in four hours, then you start home and give the horse his time."

My commission filled to the letter, by ten o'clock I was on the way home. After riding some distance I heard my name called. On looking down the stream I saw a man with a bucket. I asked what he wanted. He said, "Come take dinner with me." I was tired and hungry, so quickly replied, "Alright." I rode down into the woods a short distance to a little old log cabin, with a mud and stick chimney and puncheon floor. Here my friend introduced me to his wife. He told her I had come to dinner with him. She said, "Wood Herod, you ought to be ashamed of yourself—you know that we have nothing to eat but corn meal and the mussels you have gathered." "That's all right," he said, "he will enjoy them—you get things ready while I feed his horse." He then went to his fathers corn crib, not far from there, and got corn enough for the horse. His wife built the fire in the fireplace and made corn bread and baked it in a skillet. He fixed the fire to put the mussels on. We had a good dinner and I enjoyed my first mussels. As I was tired and hungry, the novelty of it also made it enjoyable. The menu was corn dodgers, mussels on the half shell and water from the creek for dessert. The furnishing of the cabin was unique and home-made. The seats were wooden stools, the table was boards laid across a couple of benches, the bedstead was holes bored in the logs, a rail put in them, the other end in a post at right angles and boards gathered from the driftwood laid on the rails and extending to the cracks between the logs. There was a straw mattress on that. With a box or two for their clothing, this constituted the furnishing of the house. Mine host was only seventeen—his wife twenty-three. They had married against his father's will, so this was the cause of their living where they were and the way they were. His father, James Herod, was well to do, owned a good farm and was sheriff of the county. The hostess had no relatives in Indiana but a sister, who was her father-in-

law's second wife, whom she called on at times. She finally picked up courage and called on her father-in-law and told him "that if he would help them some they could make a living." He asked her how and she told him that she had been to Columbus and found a house on the street near the courthouse square that they could rent furnished. If he would rent it for them, they could make a living keeping boarders and giving meals. Woody could peel potatoes, wait table, wash dishes and she could do the cooking and they could make a good living. He consented. This was the beginning of quite a good hotel, the second in Columbus. They continued in the hotel business all their lives, raised quite a family of respectable children who acquired a good common school education, some of them married very well and were good citizens.

Joseph Cox was a Pennsylvanian by birth, but at an early period left the place of his nativity and settled in North Carolina, then later in Kentucky. He was one of the first comers into the county of Bartholomew then part of a vast wilderness belonging to Delaware county. He came in 1818 when he was about fifty-three years old. He followed the Indian trail and made the first wagon road with his ox cart. He built a shack on Haw creek about three miles from where Columbus was afterwards located. He was a man of considerable worth and intelligence, active and energetic. His wife was Mary and his children as follows: Thomas, William, Gideon, Peter, John, Jacob, Jesse, Joseph, Millie, James and Elias. Thomas led a horse on which rode his mother and two of the children. William walked beside the ox-team with his father, Millie and Elias were on horseback a little to the rear while the remainder of the children were in the travel-stained, dust-covered wagon. Joseph Cox was armed with a gun and the older boys carried axes. They halted on the bank of the creek and took a survey of the place. The children peeped from the wagon and later tumbled out, two of them engaged in a wrestling match. Mary left the wagon, being solicitous about Millie and Elias. Cox said, "Well, Mary, we have traveled a long way since we left Carolina and Virginia, and we have seen all kinds of country, but I tell you, I haven't seen any country in all this time that I

like as well as this around here. I don't think that we will find a place that is any better to settle than right here. What do you think?" "Well, if you are a mind to stop here, I am willing." "I was just thinking as we were riding along here that this is the land that flows with milk and honey. The hunting and the trapping ought to be mighty good here and we can soon clear a field." "You are right, Mary, the mountains of old Virginia are pretty enough to look at, but this land along this valley is a better place to get a living." "Yes, Joseph, God will bless us here and other settlers will soon be coming along this wagon track that we have cleared out. I allow this will be a good place to bring up our children; you know we have a fair sized family, Joseph, and we want to do the best we can for them." "Yes, Mary, that's so and they are all girls but ten. We are the first here, but others will come. About our graves in this county, cities and towns will spring up and crowd the farms that we are to clear. In the generations yet to come, some may be curious to know who was the first white woman that came into this land which has upon it the smile of the Lord. Then, people will be happy to know that your name was Mary and that a woman bearing that name was their Pioneer Mother."

The following letters are printed here, not for any historical information they may contain, but for the flavor of the time.

INDIANAPOLIS, Dec. 18th, A. D. 1841.

Most affectionate and loving companion:

I now take my pen in hand to inform you that I am in good health at present. Hoping that these few lines may find you enjoying your health much better than when I left home. I have had much uneasiness for you but through the mercies of an allwise Creator I hope to hear of your recovering your health together with your family enjoying peace and satisfaction or at least so much so as possible. I have taken boarding at Mr. Lingenfelter's the same place that I was last winter. I should have written sooner but the mail has not left here for Columbus since I came on account of bad road. The members are all in health at this time. I expect to come to see you next Saturday no providential accident occurring, when I hope I shall find you with your family enjoying the blessings of life. I wish you to spare no pains nor money for the recovery of your health and satis-

faction. The time of our meeting I hope is not far distant when we shall have the pleasure of conversing with each other.

Yours most affectionately,

TUNIS QUICK.

N. B. My sons, I would just say to you that it is the sincere wish and desire of your affectionate father that you obey your mother in all things without murmuring in the least as she has been very low. I wish you not to fret or disobey her in any manner whatever, attend on her attentively, spare no pains and you shall be rewarded. Attend to keeping good fires. Attend to feeding all stock and watering in due time. I would just say to my little daughter that I wish you to behave very pretty and mind your mother and grandmother and you shall be called the prettiest girl in town. My sons, I wish you to have in mind what is above written so that you may have the praise of all that know you.

Yours affectionately,

SUSANNAH QUICK.

TUNIS QUICK.

House of Representatives,

INDIANAPOLIS, Jan. 10, A. D. 1842.

My dear and affectionate companion:

I again take my pen in hand to inform you that I am well at this time and hope when these few lines come to hand they will find you with yours and mine in health. I have not received any letter from you since I was at home. I heard from you by Mr. J. F. Jones and by him sent you a letter but have not as yet received any answer. The mail had missed coming for three days but came in this morning, but nothing for me from my beloved of all. There is some sickness here, mostly bad colds. There is at this time some five or six of the members confined to their rooms. Hugh Barnes departed this life yesterday morning, age sixty-nine years. He was the sergeant at arms in our House. There was a resolution adopted that the legislatures should wear crape on the left arm ten days in honor of that venerable old man and also that the members of both houses meet at the place where the corpse lay and march in double file after the corpse to the Methodist church, where the Rev. Mr. Good preached his funeral. I went in that procession and then went to the place of interment to pay the last respects. George Boon also departed this life last night, age fifty-seven years, who has been eleven years a representative, a man much respected. It is supposed that his friends will take him home which is about one hundred miles. A Mr. Hannah is at this time not expected to live. Those men were all complaining when they came here and have possibly exposed themselves too much for their situation, sitting in a warm room and then going out without their over-coats on, which I believe to be very injurious to health. I have been very careful myself and have enjoyed as good health if not the best health I have for several winters. I am getting quite fleshy. I can't

tell you when I will be at home. I expect the House will not adjourn before the 8th of February, but I don't think that I can stay here until then without coming to see you once in the time but if business is so that I can't come you must all take the will for the deed. I should be very glad to see you all but as it is I must attend to the business of the country. In your next letter write how your father and mother are and all the children and father and mother and the neighbors. I should be glad to hear of their welfare and give my respects to those who inquire after me and tell them that I send my respects to them.

Affectionately,

SUSANNAH QUICK.

TUNIS QUICK.

INDIANAPOLIS, Jan. 13, A. D. 1842.

My dear wife:

I now am sitting in my room and thinking about her I love and although I have nothing strange to inform you of yet if I could know that you could even be as much delighted to read my poor dry letters as I am to read those interesting communications I received from you written with your own hand, I should be tempted to write every day. My dear, I see from your letter that you have had a bad spell since I left home. Oh, if I could have been with you to have administered to your necessity it would have been a comfort to me to have the satisfaction of waiting on you, as I expect you needed my assistance. I hope when these few lines come to hand they will find you in better health than when you wrote to me. I have had my health very well since I left you. I wish you to take special care of yourself and if you need anything at all that money would bring, I wish you to have it gotten for your benefit and if you need a doctor send for him as soon as possible, but I hope you will not need one. I hope for your better health. I should be very glad to come home before we adjourn, but the business is so pressing that I don't think I can come home until we adjourn except your health gets worse than when you wrote to me and I hope the Lord will bless you in your affliction. I hope you will be as much reconciled as the nature of the case will permit. Although we be at a distance at this time I hope it will not be long until we shall have the pleasure of conversing with each other face to face and not by letter. Tell my little daughter, Hannah, that her Pop is well and wants to see her very much and Josiah, my sweet little son, you must be a very good boy and obey your mother and Pap will bring you and Hannah some candy. I think my son Gorrell will be a good boy. My son, you must obey your mother and mind your work. I don't think you will be bad. I want you to be a very smart boy so that when I come home I can have your mother tell me how good her little boy was while I was gone. Morgan, I wish you to attend to business like a man and see that the horses, cattle, sheep, calves, hogs are all attended to with food and water and attend to

all other things the best you can until I come home and don't impose upon your little brothers and above all take care of your dear mother and obey her in all her commands without murmuring and also your grandparents and you, my sons, Spencer and James, I want you to obey your mother in all she may be pleased to tell you to do. Do it without any murmuring. Mind your work but be good boys. I shall be at home before very long, say two weeks. Nancy, I want you to be very smart and good so that when I see you that I may have the pleasure of hearing that you have been a very good girl and I will buy you and Hannah each a new frock, if you will be good girls. My dear, it is now after ten o'clock and I have been up every night this week until after this time. I shall have to close this letter as I want to put it in the office very early in the morning before the mail leaves. I would be glad if you would write to me once a week anyhow and oftener if you think proper. When I have an opportunity to take your letter and read it over it appears like some faint murmuring conversation compared with that when we are in each other's embrace. My dear, I sincerely crave your happiness and your special company but as we are at this time at a distance I hope the Lord may bless us severally as we need so that before long we may meet again.

Yours with very tender affection,

SUSANNAH QUICK.

TUNIS QUICK.

N. B. Give my kindest love to your father and mother and mine, also give my best regards to Milton and Mary Nading and all who may inquire after me. With love.

Yours,

TUNIS QUICK.

INDIANAPOLIS, Jan. 19, A. D. 1842.

Most affectionate and loving companion:

I now take my pen in hand to inform you that I am well at present, hoping that when these few lines come to hand they will find you and ours in health. I received yours of the 11th inst., which informed me that you were much better than when you wrote to me last, which I was glad to hear that you were still mending. This was a great satisfaction to me. I was at the postoffice late this evening, but no letter. I did hope to get one but I was disappointed. I call at the postoffice every day. I shall be glad to hear from you. It does me a great deal of good to read your letters, knowing the confidence you place in me and to think of conversing with each other by letter it does me much good though we be at a distance from each other. Yet when I read your loving letters it gives me a great deal of pleasure hoping that ere long we shall embrace each other again and have each other's troubles. I would fain hope that when these few lines come to you they will find you up and at least up and going about the house and your pretty little daughter Hannah by your side or fondling on your knee. What a satisfaction this is, my sweet little daughter and my companion, I hope to see you all in health the 31st day of

January, 1842. I shall start for home, I think, on Sunday, the 30th inst. I want to see you and all very much. I hope the Lord will bless you all and give you peace and health, and fortitude to you, my dear, to bear up under your affliction so that you can say, "Thy will, Oh Lord, and not mine be done," for we learn that all things work together for them that love God. My dear, I should have come before now, if I could have left my business, but it appears to me that my presence was needed every day and is still needed but I think now that I never will spend another winter in the legislature, but spend the rest of my time at or about home where I can have the pleasure of my family which is the greatest pleasure to me of any other way that I have ever tried. You wrote to me that the children all behave very well which pleases me. I hope they will continue to be good children and I believe they will and obey you, their tender mother. My sons, I want you to attend to your work like little men. Mind and do your work in good time and take care of all the creatures and don't have any grumbling but mind your work night and morning and at all other times when needed and above all mind and obey your mother and be good boys. I shall soon be at home. I wish also to write you again next week and after that I think I shall talk with you at home. You told me that Amos Crane said that Russ had one hundred dollars for you and you did not know whether to take it or not. Don't take any money from any person, that is paper money, except it be on the State Bank of Indiana. I wrote to Amos Crane concerning the money he owes us and told him that I would receive it when I came home. Noah Sims wrote to me saying that Russ had five hundred dollars for me and he, Noah, wanted to borrow it for one year. I wrote to him that he could not have it under any consideration. I don't want to loan money to any person at all. I must now close my letter with all tender affections to you and my loving and tender companion.

TUNIS QUICK.

N. B. Give my best respects to those who have inquired after me and to father and mother in particular and all the relatives.

SUSANNAH QUICK.

TUNIS QUICK.

Mr. Terrill has not been here.

¹These letters were without envelopes. All were sealed with a wafer, postage was 10c and paid by the recipient.—M. O. B.

REVIEWS

Rededicating America. The Life and Recent Speeches of Warren G. Harding. By FREDERICK E. SCHORTEMEIER, Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1920, pp. 256.

The biographical part of the volume consists of 33 pages, a brief straightforward account of a rather uneventful life. Mr. Harding comes of a plain American family, nothing sensational either in the family history or his own. His life is easily understood because he has always done the sensible, practical thing.

The twenty speeches given cover a rather wide range, but running through all is the moderation, sanity and caution that characterize the man. Speech of acceptance, Safeguarding America, Americanization, Theodore Roosevelt, McKinley, Washington, Lincoln, Grant, The Declaration of War with Germany, America in the War, The Republican Party and America, Problems of America, Excess Profits-Tax, Auto-Intoxication, Back to Normal, The Philippine Islands, The Knox Resolutions, Some Specifications, and the Peace Treaty, are the titles. They cover a period of time extending from 1916 to 1920 and admirably illustrate the political philosophy of the author.

Life and Times of Stevens Thompson Mason, the Boy Governor of Michigan. By LAWTON T. HEMANS. This is Vol. — of the Michigan Historical Commission.

Governor Mason was a native of Virginia, a member of the famous Mason family, best represented in American history by George Mason. About 1812 the family moved to Kentucky. In 1830 the father, John T. Mason, was appointed secretary of the territory of Michigan. In due time and after many discouraging delays to Michigan it became a state and Stevens T. Mason, a Jacksonian Democrat, its first governor, two terms, 1836-40. His administration covers the stirring times of Internal Improvements and Mr. Hemans has handled the political history of that period fully. For this reason, principally, the volume is of more than statewide interest.

Publication of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Vol. XIX, edited by ALBERT WALKINS, historian of the Society, Lansing, 1919, pp. 357.

This volume contains seventeen papers dealing with the early history of the state. Five of these papers deal with Indians; seven deal with early settlers and settlements; one deals with the Swedes in Nebraska; one with the Bohemians; one with women in territorial Nebraska; and others with early political questions. The period covered, in general, is that from 1860 to 1880. The papers are well written and well edited. The footnotes, especially, show an immense amount of careful investigation. This feature is especially commendable. The documentary article on contested elections in Nebraska is a fine commentary on pioneer politics of that period and illustrates a phase of history through which nearly all our states have gone.

Welfare Campaigns in Iowa, by MARCUS L. HANSON, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1920.

This small volume of 320 pages is a record of the work in Iowa of the Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, Knights of Columbus, American Library Association, Salvation Army, Jewish Welfare Board, and the War chest. The volume is a beautiful example of book making.

A series of interesting articles on Hine's raid into Indiana have lately appeared in the *Crawford County Democrat* of English. These were written by H. H. Pleasant, superintendent of schools at Leavenworth. Mr. Pleasant has done quite a bit of research into the early history of Crawford county. This county is in a class of three or four which so far have escaped the county historian.

THE *Annual Report of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union* has been received by the favor of Mrs. Benjamin D. Walcott of Indianapolis, the vice-regent for Indiana. This association cares for the home of Washington at Mount Vernon. There were 141,489 visitors to the home last year.

The Book of Terre Haute, a 20-page pamphlet, was published by the Chamber of Commerce to set forth the commercial condition and prospects of the city.

WHERE the Salem witches were hanged is the leading article in the January *Essex Institute Historical Collections*. It is written by Sidney Perley.

THE April, 1920, *Tennessee Historical Magazine* has three valuable articles. The first is a historical account of John A. Murrell and Daniel Crenshaw by Park Marshall. These romantic horsethieves and highwaymen almost drove the sanctimonious east of the sixties and seventies to despair. They turn out to be very mediocre criminals. For dash and imagination they would hardly class with the bootleggers of today. The larger part of the Magazine is taken up with John Sevier's journal. It is prepared by Joh. H. Dewitt, president of the society.

Propaganda in History is the title of a small pamphlet recently published by Lyon G. Tyler of Richmond, Va. Dr. Tyler makes frantic but vain struggles against being swallowed up by the Cape Cod myth. It's no use, Dr. Tyler, if you did not have an ancestor in that forlorn band, pick one out and adopt him as soon as possible and stop singing out of tune. Change your name to Adams.

THE Black Belt of Alabama by Herdman T. Cleland in the *Geographical Review* for December, 1920, is one of the most interesting and suggestive studies published during the quarter.

THE leading article in the *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* is a life of Jedediah Peck, father of the public school system of the state of New York.

THREE historical articles of general interest in the April-July, 1920, *Michigan History Magazine* are Reminiscences of life at Mackinac, 1835-1863, by Constance S. Patton, Story of a famous mission L'arbre Croche, Michigan, by H. Bedford-Jones and Fort Wilkins, at Copper Harbor, Michigan, by Lew Allen Chase.

Smith College Studies for April has an article by Mary Breeze Fuller on the Development of History and Government in Smith College from 1875 to 1920, together with a list of publications by faculty and Alumnae. The July number is taken up by an article on Influences toward radicalism in Connecticut, 1754-1775.

PERHAPS the most interesting chapters in the October *Journal of History* is a collection of editorials written by Joseph Smith. They deal with Censorship of the church press, Sensational preaching, Deportment in the house of worship, Responsibility, Books of reference, When will Christ come, and Wisdom as a gift.

IN the January *Catholic Historical Review* Rev. F. G. Holweck submits a tentative American martyrology. Among them are some known to Indiana history: Father Gaston, killed by the Tamarois Indians of Illinois in 1730, Antonin Senat, a Jesuit killed with Vincennes by the Chickasaws in 1736, Jacques Gravier, killed by Peorias in 1708, and Gabriel de la Ribourde, killed by the Kickapoos in 1681.

THE January *Missouri Historical Review* is the Missouri centennial number. A century of Missouri Agriculture by T. B. Mumford, A Century of education in Missouri by C. A. Phillips, A Century of Missouri politics by C. H. McClure, A Model Centennial program by E. M. Violette and One Hundred years of Banking in Missouri by Breckinridge Jones are the titles of the review articles. The leading article, The Missouri tavern, is by W. B. Stevens, president of the society.

THE *Minnesota Historical Bulletin* for August, 1920, is the dedication number for the new Historical Society building. This society was incorporated October 20, 1849. It has always had a home in the state house. It has published seventeen volumes of state history. The dedicatory address, Middle Western Pioneer Democracy, delivered by F. J. Turner, is published in the August *Bulletin*.

THE September *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* has an article on U. S. Marines from Kentucky in the world war, another on Kentucky Union troops in the

Civil war, and one on the History of Woodford county. The January *Register* has articles on the Turner family, Lieut. Governor Thruston Ballard, Mrs. Desha Breckinridge and a continuation of the History of Woodford county. The Kentucky Historical Society is now at home in its own building, the state having given to it the old capitol at Frankfort. This is an interesting old building dating from 1829. Almost a century of Kentucky history clusters around it. The *Register* dates from 1903. The society was incorporated in 1838. Such names as John Rowan, Henry Pirtle, George D. Prentice, John H. Harney and Humphrey Marshall appear on its charter. This good fortune of the Kentucky society leaves Indiana alone in its class—without home, friends, or funds. Indiana richly deserves the place it holds in the written history of the nation.

THE *Palimpsest* of February, 1921, is devoted to roads under the headings, The Old Military road, Phantoms on the old road, and Along the Military road. This is a small monthly paper published by the State Historical Society of Iowa.

The January *Palimpsest* contains two good pioneer stories, Lost in an Iowa blizzard and Early Cabins in Iowa.

Second Annual Report of the Department of Conservation—year ending September 30, 1920. This new department was created in 1919 and is a combination of Geology, Entomology, Natural Gas, Forestry, Lands and Waters, and Fish and Game departments. Richard Lieber is director. The Division of Geology is under W. N. Logan and has for its purpose the investigation of the mineral resources of the state. During the past year it has published seven or eight bulletins of scientific information. The division of Entomology is in charge of Frank N. Wallace. This division makes war on bugs. Chas. C. Deam is state forester. His problem is to study forest conditions in the state and help improve them. The state has a forest of 2000 acres under Mr. Deam's supervision.

THE *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for October, 1920, has only one article, The Work of the Iowa Code Com-

mission, by Jacob Van der Zee. The January, 1921, number contains articles by John F. Sly on Providing for a State Constitutional Convention; a History of Taxation in Iowa, 1910-1920, by John E. Brindley, and the Operation of the Primary Election Law in Iowa by Frank Edward Horack.

GRAND Army of the Republic, Department of Indiana, held its forty-first annual encampment at Bloomington May 25, 26 and 27, 1920. There are now 231 posts in the organization with a membership of 6,309. The loss by death during the past year was 550. A full account of the encampment as well as the annual reports and statistics are given in the *Proceedings*, Vol. XLI.

THE editor has received copies of two STANDARD TESTS for history pupils in the public schools. One of these is prepared by A. S. Barr of the department of education, Evansville college; the other by C. G. VanNest, critic teacher of history in the Bloomington high school. The first is for American history, the last for European. There is not space here for a criticism of these tests. Both look in the direction of a standardized body of facts to be learned by the pupils.

A SUBSCRIPTION PAPER FOR THE ERECTION OF A CHURCH IN JEFFERSON COUNTY IN THE YEAR 1818.

Jefferson County, State of Indiana, Graham Township.

A subscription paper for the purpos of building a meeting house for the benefit of the M. E. Church to be built on the land of Addan Troutman neare the raccoon spring, the said Troutman will furnish one or more acres of land if necessary, for which he will make a deed for ever for building the meeting house on, and for a grave yard, and further, the said Troutman will give as much back timber as is necessary for building the house, to be 25 feet by 22, the logs to be hewen to eight inches thick, a cabbin roof, the fire place to be cut out ten feete wide, a backwall, hearth and james of stone, cat and clay chimney, a plank floore, two windows and a doore.

All who may think propper to subscribe this paper are requested to meete at the raccoon spring on the first saturday in August, it being the first day of August, and there to appoint three or more Trustees to superintend to building of the house or to make such alterations as the majority may think propper, the building of the

house to be finished against Christmas, at which time these preasants each subscriber to hold himself to pay the same annexed to his name.

July 21st, 1818.

G. Campbell	\$10.00.	Ezekiel Philipps,	1.00
James Lining,	2.00.	John Philipps,	1.00
Robert Smith	1.50.	Ebben Tebbets,	1.00
Milton Robertson,	3.00.	Andrew Cordrey,	1.00
Joshua Deputy,	5.00.	Benj. Ramsey,	1.00
Alex B. Wilson,	2.00.	Wm. Whitesderson,	.50
Thomas Ammons,	3.00.	A. Chitwood,	1.00
Samuel Hutchinson,	.50	Joshua Tull,	1.00
Patrick Willson,	3.00	Joseph Wiley,	1.00
Thomas Gasaway,	5.00	Geor. Wilson,	.50
John Gudgel,	1.00	Condrey,	1.00
Sam White,	3.00	T. R. Condrey	1.00
Thomas Jackson,	1.00	Evan Thomas,	1.00
R. Whitwood	1.00	Henry Dixon,	2.00
Louis Black,	2.00	Wm. D. Wilson,	1.50
W. C. Wilson,	\$1.50.	Moses Wilson	1.50

The size of the house 30 by 24 feet, the logs to be well hewed to size enough to face nine inches, seven inches thick, the sils to be oak, also the sleepers, and one round next to the sils of oak, the highth of said house twelve feet to the squair, a cabbin roof, a twelve light window, poplar plank floore one inch and half thick, about six inches in breadth, or not to exceed the same, one doore about four feete wide, a plain shutter for the doore and also for the windows, a rock under each corner, also under the middle of each set to rais the house from the earth about eight inches, all the work to be done in a workman like manner and agreeable to the direction of the trustees.

N. B. Also two more windows, each twelve lights with shutters and glass in the one behind the pulpit. Said house is to be chinked with stone and plastered with lime and sand.

JOHN M. CRORY, Undertaker.

\$59.00

Historical News

The annual meeting of the Indiana Historical Society, on December 30, was marked by the resignation of Judge D. W. Howe, who has been president of the society for twenty years, but who withdrew on account of failing health. The resignation was accepted with regret, and a testimonial resolution as to his services adopted. Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows: President, Chas. W. Moores; first vice-president, J. A. Woodburn; second vice-president, W. E. English; third vice-president, Harlow Lindley; treasurer, Chas. E. Coffin; recording secretary, J. P. Dunn; corresponding secretary, F. B. Wynn; executive committee, John H. Holliday, Logan Esarey, Mrs. Frank Athon Morrison, Lee Burns, and Eliza Gordon Browning.

The society decided to make one meeting of the Indiana Historical Conference next December a public meeting of the Indiana Historical Society. Harlow Lindley and Lucy M. Elliott were appointed to prepare the program. Resolutions asking the legislature to make provisions for preserving the battle flags of Indiana troops in the Spanish-American and World wars were adopted. Dr. Wynn, Mrs. Morrison and Miss Elliott were appointed a committee to prepare plans for securing the cooperation of all societies interested in Indiana history, and report to the executive committee.

The second annual conference on Indiana state history held in Indianapolis December 10-11, 1920, under the auspices of the Society of Indiana Pioneers was marked by a number of interesting papers. The three main topics, considered at some length, were: Historical team-work; Patriotic and war history; and The centennial spirit. Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh of the Iowa State Historical Society was the speaker for the two evening programs. The proceedings of the conference will be printed in full by the Indiana Historical Commission, and distributed to all interested persons.

The public speaking classes of the Ft. Wayne extension center of Indiana University gave a Revue of the history

of Ft. Wayne at the Ft. Wayne high school auditorium, January 26 and 27. The revue was in the form of an oral pageant of the growth of Ft. Wayne from 1614 [?] to the present time. The program was in two parts: Part one, beginning with the prologue the Spirit of History (Columbia) retrospective and prophetic of the entire history of Ft. Wayne, and ending with the passing of the Indians in 1818; part two, beginning with the prologue the Spirit of History (Indiana) covering the period of history from 1819 to 1854, and ending with a resume of the establishment and growth of civic and social institutions. Ross V. Lockridge, director of the employment and welfare department of the Wayne knitting mills, had general supervision of the Revue, ably assisted by a cast composed of citizens of Ft. Wayne.

A meeting of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. George S. Clifford, Evansville, Indiana, on the evening of January 31st. Kate Milner Rabb of Indianapolis gave an enjoyable talk on The Romance of Indiana History. Many members were present from the eight counties represented in the society. The next meeting of the Southwestern Historical Society will be held in Perry county, when Lafayette Springs will be dedicated by a program in the form of a pageant under the supervision of Thomas James de la Hunt of Cannelton, Indiana.

Columbus, Indiana, will celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the naming of the town some time in the late spring or summer. The county seat was first named Tiptona. The county was organized January 8, 1821, and it has been suggested that the county and city celebrations be held at the same time. George Pence of the State Board of Accounts has been asked to prepare an historical address.

At a meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Science, division of anthropology, in Chicago last December, it was stated that almost nothing was known of Indiana archaeology. Since that meeting George R. Fox, director of the Edward K. Warren Foundation, at Three Oaks, Michigan, has been making an investigation of what has been done in Indiana. He finds that beginning in 1869, a survey

was made county by county, by the state geologists. He is very enthusiastic about the results of his investigation and says that the state has no reason to be ashamed of what has been accomplished. These archaeological remains have been located in part, at least. Now it is for the people of Indiana to see that more publicity is given to their archaeological treasures and that these remains are saved. A real state museum with adequate quarters would attract thousands and thousands of such relics.

George Andrew Gordon, the only surviving member who assisted in drafting the Indiana state constitution of 1850, now living in Eureka, Kansas, was duly honored by the General Assembly of Indiana on his one hundredth birthday, January 22, 1921. Following is a copy of the resolution sent to him on this occasion:

Whereas, George Andrew Gordon now a resident of Eureka, Kansas, is the only surviving member of the Indiana constitutional convention of 1850, having been elected from a district composed of Howard and Cass counties, and

Whereas, Mr. Gordon will be 100 years of age Saturday, January 22, 1921, having been born in Warren county, Ohio, afterward residing in Sullivan and Howard counties, Indiana, obtaining a higher education at Wabash college, and

Whereas, his 100th birthday is to be celebrated at a family gathering in Eureka, Kansas, Saturday, January 22nd, be it *Resolved* by the senate, the house of representatives concurring, that the 72nd General Assembly of Indiana, which was elected under the constitution Mr. Gordon helped to establish, congratulate Mr. Gordon on his public service and on his long and useful life, and be it further

Resolved, that the secretary of state be directed to send a certified copy of these resolutions to Mr. Gordon, and that the secretary of the senate send a telegram immediately upon concurrence of the house in these resolutions to Mr. Gordon notifying him of the action taken.

During the annual meeting of the Indiana library association held jointly with the Indiana library trustees association, in Indianapolis, November 10-12, 1920, one of the features of the program from the historian's point of view, were the talks given at the Indiana Dinner. Jacob P. Dunn responded to the toast, Early Indiana Authors; Kate Milner Rabb, Old Township and McClure Libraries; Paul V. Ha-

worth, *Roughing It in the Northwest*; William Herschell, Original Poems and Yarns, and Max Ehrman, *Madness of Romance*.

The Indiana Historical Society is entering upon a statewide drive this year to increase its membership. A survey of three or four leading state historical societies in the middle west shows the following records for membership: Missouri, 1,248; Wisconsin, 1,042; Minnesota upwards of 600; Michigan, over 1,000. At present the membership of the Indiana Historical Society is fewer than 150. A membership committee consisting of Charles W. Moores, Harlow Lindley and Lucy M. Elliott, has been appointed to conduct the drive during the year 1921.

An editorial in the Indianapolis *Sunday Star*, January 23, 1921, on the Corydon pageant, by Kate Milner Rabb, has aroused statewide interest in the subject of historical pageants.

Under the direction of the Indiana Historical commission more than fifty of the ninety-two counties in the state have collected and compiled a history showing the part played by their respective counties in the World war. Several of the counties have already published their histories in book form, among them being: Clay, Delaware, Fountain, Fulton, Howard, Jefferson, Parke, Pike, Ripley, Switzerland, and Tipton. The manuscript reports for several others have been prepared, and other volumes will appear in the near future.

The historical committee of Tennessee is now engaged in one of the most extensive campaigns ever undertaken by the state to collect, calendar, and publish all available documents relating to the history of Tennessee. On January 29, 1920, a mass meeting was held at the Commercial club in Nashville, attended by the governor, members of the supreme court, members of the legislature, state officials and representative and professional citizens, at which time a movement was launched calling for a survey of the entire state of Tennessee. Six committees were appointed to collect and prepare material on the following subjects: Early history, Indian and pioneer, Mexican and Civil war history, Reconstruction

and commercial history, Political, social and industrial history, Literary and educational history, World war, civil and military history. The 1919 session of the Tennessee legislature appropriated \$2,200,000 for a memorial hall and historical library in which to house the records of Tennessee and to perpetuate the memory of her hero dead. Governor Roberts announced that the necessary funds would be available for carrying on this great work, and pronounced it the most important work ever undertaken in Tennessee.

Of all the historic Lincoln spots the least known is that area where Lincoln lived from his seventh to his twenty-first years. The people of southern Indiana are urging Governor McCray to reroute the proposed state highway from Evansville to French Lick so it will pass through Lincoln City, through the old Thomas Lincoln farm, past the home site of the Lincolns, past the grave of Lincoln's mother, and all the other Lincoln landmarks. If this is done, a real Lincoln Home Trail is built, then the automobile tourist passing that way may see, as he comes from the east, the monument marking the hearthstone site in the Lincoln one-room cabin home, and as he drives southwestward he will pass along the land Lincoln cleared and plowed. He will come next to the Nancy Hanks Lincoln Memorial park, in the center of which is the monument erected by Lincoln lovers to the memory of Lincoln's mother, who died when he was ten years old.

It seems strange, but Indiana has one of the most beautiful small parks in America there, with fine roads all through it, and no way to get to the entrance other than over a dirt road impassable over half the year. Passing by the park one comes to Little Pigeon church, primitive Baptist. The original church was built 100 years ago; Thomas Lincoln helped build it, out of roughly-hewn logs. This was the first church Lincoln attended; his father was one of the officers. Long after the Lincolns moved to Illinois the building was moved toward the road 100 feet, and the logs were boarded over on the outside, the inside then being plastered. Inside are rough board benches, a home-made pulpit, with kitchen chairs for the preacher. Immediately back of this church is the grave of Lincoln's sister, Sarah Lincoln Grigsby.

Then, following the trail that Lincoln trod, one comes to Gentryville, the village nearest the Lincoln farm a century ago. It was there Lincoln went to do odd jobs for townspeople, and to read a Louisville newspaper, the only paper coming into all that part of the country. [?] It was in the Gentryville store that Lincoln did his first debating, arguments swapped round the stove. There he first became noted as a story teller. On farther is Boonville, where Lincoln found the first [?] law books he read, and which gave him the foundation for a legal career. To the south, in Rockport, he borrowed other law

books, and there, [?] too, he embarked upon his river expeditions to New Orleans, for a Gentryville merchant. It was over that same trail from the Lincoln farm to Gentryville that the Lincoln family drove their ox-teams, carrying all their worldly goods into Illinois.—*Indianapolis News*, February 2, 1921.

Mrs. Caroline Dale Owen Snedeker, the granddaughter of David Dale Owen and the author of *Seth Wey, a Romance of the New Harmony Community*, gave an address on New Harmony before the Contemporary club of Indianapolis, December 9.

The Henry County historical society held its thirty-fourth semi-annual meeting at Newcastle, November 18. About sixty members were present. Resolutions were adopted at the meeting recommending that the birthplace of Wilbur Wright, the co-inventor of the aeroplane, be bought, if it could be secured at a reasonable price. If the five-acre homestead cannot be bought at a fair price, it was recommended that a memorial be erected at Newcastle.

The Washington County historical society met at Salem November 27, 1920. A number of new relics were added to its collection which is growing to be of considerable size. It was planned to hold regular monthly meetings in the future.

Miss Margaret C. Norton who has finished calendaring the collection of Tipton manuscripts in the Indiana state library has accepted a position with the state historical society of Missouri.

At the 43rd annual meeting of the Indiana Republican Editorial Association, held in Indianapolis, January 27 and 28, 1921, M. W. Pershing, of Tipton, one of the surviving charter members of the association, read a paper giving the history of the organization, covering a period of more than forty years. He mentioned the names of editors and newspapers of the long ago, among whom were men that became famous in newspaper work in Indiana and the country at large. The historical feature of the paper was so well received that the association ordered the address be published in booklet form.

Two articles of unusual interest appeared in the Indianapolis *News* of December 4, 1920, and December 25, 1920. Both articles, written by Jacob P. Dunn, gave a brief history of the two Indiana inventors who have not been generally known. One is Thomas Jackson Rodman, inventor of the Rodman gun, and of modern cannon powder. The other character mentioned was George W. Stockman, inventor of the process of summer meat packing, and artificial cooling.

Ten Indiana counties were organized by the legislature in 1821. Six of these will have the opportunity to observe their centennials on the exact date of their anniversaries; the others might celebrate the year, if not the exact date. The counties and dates of organizing acts are as follows: Union, Jan. 5, 1821; Greene, Jan. 5, 1821; Bartholomew, Jan. 8, 1821; Parke, Jan. 9, 1821; Morgan, Dec. 31, 1821; Decatur, Dec. 31, 1821; Rush, Dec. 31, 1821; Marion, Dec. 31, 1821; Putnam, Dec. 31, 1821; and Henry, Dec. 31, 1821.

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Methodism In Southwestern Indiana

By JOHN E. IGLEHART

(Continued)

PETER CARTWRIGHT AND HIS BOSWELL, MILBURN, THE BLIND
MAN ELOQUENT.

Of Peter Cartwright, Professor Sweet says:⁶⁴

"It is unnecessary to give an extended account here of this, perhaps the most famous of all Methodist frontier preachers. His *Autobiography*, which reads like a veritable fairy tale, is still sold and read by thousands, and through that medium his fame has gone beyond the bounds of the Methodist church."

Next, if not equal in importance, to the Notes of Doddridge describing frontier life in the up-country of the Alleghenies is the biography of Cartwright which describes the advancing frontier in the valley of the Ohio and Mississippi. As a child, when moving to Kentucky from Virginia, where he was born, the party of emigrants camped for the night, and his father who was on duty as sentinel, observing in the darkness what appeared to be a slowly moving object, shot it with his rifle and it turned out to be an Indian. So near was the boy Peter to death. A life such as he led in Kentucky still farther west from the frontier in the mountains naturally developed in him the ideals of physical prowess inseparable from a heroic age, which he exemplified in his own life dealing with the rude, lawless and wicked elements, which, until finally eliminated, made war on the circuit rider and his efforts to introduce Christianity among them.

⁶⁴ *Circuit Rider Days in Indiana*, page 20.

Accounts of dramatic scenes, of which Cartwright was the hero, only modestly referred to in his biography, are given by Milburn in a volume profusely illustrating and describing in the spirit of true romance the life of the early settlers in the Mississippi Valley.⁶⁵

Peter Cartwright's connection with Indiana Methodism was limited to the year he served on the Salt River and Shelby circuits in Kentucky in 1805, when he crossed the Ohio river and preached in Indiana, to his visit to the Busroe [Busseron] settlement in 1808, when he put the Shakers to flight, and established the Vincennes circuit, providing for its supply, and in the years 1812 and 1813 when he served as presiding elder of the Wabash district, which included within its bounds the Vincennes and the Patoka circuits.

He was a man of national celebrity, in the religious development of the west, and attended many sessions of the general conference of the Methodist church. He was contemporaneous with Abraham Lincoln in the early life of the latter in Illinois, and defeated Lincoln as a candidate for the Illinois legislature, the first time Lincoln ran for office, the only time he was ever defeated.

William H. Milburn has furnished the best description of Cartwright which I have read. Milburn was born in Philadelphia, a neighbor acquaintance when a child, of the afterwards celebrated Dr. John McClintonck. At a very early age he lost the sight of one eye and the sight of the other was so impaired as to make reading difficult, though he was able with much labor and pain to read a little, and through it became an educated man and one of very high culture. At the age of twenty, in 1842, he finished a course in McKendrie College at Jacksonville, Illinois, and entered the ministry under Peter Cartwright, his first presiding elder. At the end of three years his abilities as a natural orator attracted attention, and he was sent east to collect money for a woman's college in the west.

On his trip east, traveling by boat up the Ohio river, just before congress met in Washington, a number of congressmen were on the boat, and with the freedom of western life, card-playing, whiskey-drinking and profanity developed, in which

* *The Lance, Cross and Canoe*, 393 seq.

some of the congressmen joined. On the Sabbath, Milburn was invited to preach, which he did, and at the close of his sermon most sternly reprimanded the congressmen for their conduct and condemned their action as an example of the representatives of a great government. At the close of his address, he retired to his stateroom, and prepared to meet some form of criticism for this bold attack. When the message did come it was in the form of a contribution of a large sum of money for those days, together with an invitation on the part of the congressmen to permit him to let his name be used in connection with the vacancy to one of the two chaplaincies to congress.^{65a} Before he left the boat he consented.

He was, at the age of twenty-three or twenty-four, elected chaplain to congress, and a generation later, in the nineties, was again chosen chaplain to the United States senate. After ten years of service in the ministry, largely in the south, and after having left the Methodist church and taken ordination as a priest in the Episcopal church, he returned to the ministry of the Methodist church, a position which he held until his death. At the end of ten years, his disability, resulting from his almost total blindness, disabled him from the duties of the traveling ministry, and he settled in New York city and devoted his life chiefly to lecturing, in which Dr. McClintock says he succeeded to an unusual degree.

The impressions of his early life, together with the ideals developed in the west, had taken possession of him, and his books are devoted almost entirely to a description of the life and character of the early west, especially the introduction of religion into that country. In his books he describes Webster, Clay and Calhoun, whom he knew intimately while chaplain of congress. He was intimately in touch with Washington Irving, William Cullen Bryant, Longfellow, and the leading men of American letters. He was recognized throughout America as a man of highest culture. The *London Athenaeum* said of him at the time of his lectures in England before 1860: "To the list of John Milton and other blind men eloquent must be added the name of William Henry Milburn". He thus describes Peter Cartwright:⁶⁶

^{65a} *Ten Years of a Preacher's Life*, W. H. Milburn, 110.

⁶⁶ *Ten Years of a Preacher's Life*, 38.

The first Sunday after our arrival we attended the Methodist church. It was a bright June morning; the place, the people were all strange, and we felt the keen pang of loneliness more on that first day in our Father's house than at any other time. While sadly brooding over the dear old home far away, and thinking of the contrast between it and this unfamiliar place, our attention was arrested by a strange apparition striding up the aisle. All seemed whispering to their neighbors, "there he goes," and all eyes were riveted upon a man of medium height, thick-set, with enormous bone and muscle, and although his iron-grey hair and wrinkled brow told of the advance of years, his step was still vigorous and firm. His face was bronzed by exposure to the weather; he carried a white Quaker hat in his hand, and his upper garment was a furniture calico dressing-gown, without wadding. The truant breeze seemed to seize this garment by its skirt, and lifting it to a level with his arm-pits, disclosed to the gazing congregation a full view of the copper colored pantaloons and shirt of the divine—for he was a divine, and one worth a day's journey to see and hear.

He had then been a backwoods preacher for nearly forty years, ranging the country from the lakes to the gulf, and from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi. He was inured to every form of hardship, and had looked calmly at peril of every kind—the tomahawk of the Indian, the spring of the panther, the hug of the bear, the sweep of the tornado, the rush of swollen torrents, and the fearful chasm of the earth-quake. He had lain in the canebrake, and made his bed upon the snow of the prairie and on the oozy soil of the swamp, and had wandered hunger-bitten amid the solitude of mountains. He had been in jeopardy among robbers, and in danger from desperadoes who had sworn to take his life. He had preached in the cabin of the slave, and in the mansion of the master; to the Indians, and to the men of the border. He had taken his life in his hand, and ridden in the path of whizzing bullets, that he might proclaim peace. He had stood on the outskirts of civilization, and welcomed the first comers to the woods and prairies. At the command of Him who said, "Go into all the world," he had roamed through the wilderness; as a disciple of the man who said "The world is my parish," his travels had equaled the limits of an empire. All this he had done without hope of fee or reward; not to enrich himself or his posterity but as a preacher of righteousness in the service of God and of his fellowmen. Everywhere he had confronted wickedness, and rebuked it; every form of vice had shrunk abashed from his irresistible sarcasm and ridicule, or quivered beneath the fiery look of his indignant invective.

In the character of the Christian minister might have been a slightly exaggerated infusion of the frontiersman's traits. The whole line of his conduct may not have been marked by the spirit of meekness, or guided by infallible wisdom; but let those who have been tried as he was, and have overcome, as he has, be the first to throw the stone of censure at him. Many a son of Anak has been leveled in the dust by his sledge-like fist; and when the blind fury of his assailants urged them headlong into personal conflict with him, his agility, strength, and

resolution gave them cause for bitter repentance. Another Gideon, he has more than once led a handful of the faithful against the armies of the aliens, who were desecrating the place of worship and threatening to abolish religious services, and put them to inglorious flight. But he only girded on his strength thus, and used the weapons that nature gave him, when necessity and the law of self-defense seemed to admit of no escape. The vocation in which he gloried was that of an itinerant preacher, his congenial sphere that of a pastor in the woods. To breathe the words of hope into the ear of the dying, and to minister solace to the survivors; to take little children up in his arms and bless them; to lead the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made him an overseer, and to warn the ungodly of the error of their ways, entreating them to be reconciled to God by the cross of Christ, was the business of his life. Learning he had none, but the keenest perceptions and the truest instincts enabled him to read human nature as men read a book; a sagacity rarely at fault, a powerful fancy, and a vivid sympathy, that supplied the want of imagination—these, together with the dedication of his whole soul to his work, and a studious and prayerful acquaintance with holy Scripture, made him a workman that needed not to be ashamed.

A voice which, in his prime, was capable of almost every modulation, the earnest force and homely directness of his speech, and his power over the passions of the human heart, made him an orator to win and command the suffrages and sympathies of a western audience. And ever through the discourse, came, and went, and came again, a humor that was irresistible, now broadening the features into a merry smile, and then softening the heart until tears stood in the eyes of all. His figures and illustrations were often grand, sometimes fantastical. Like all natives of a new country, he spoke much in metaphors, and his were borrowed from the magnificent realm in which he lived. All forms of nature, save those of the sounding sea, were familiar to him, and were employed with the easy familiarity with which children use their toys. You might hear, in a single discourse, the thunder tread of a frightened herd of buffaloes as they rushed wildly across the prairie, the crash of the windrow as it fell smitten by the breath of the tempest, the piercing scream of the wildcat as it scared the midnight forest, the majestic rhythm of the Mississippi as it harmonized the distant east and west, and united, bore their tributes to the far-off ocean; the silvery flow of a mountain rivulet, the whisper of groves, and the jocund laughter of unnumbered prairie flowers, as they toyed in dalliance with the evening breeze. Thunder and lightning, fire and flood, seemed to be old acquaintances, and he spoke of them with the assured confidence of friendship. Another of the poet's attributes was his—the impulse and power to create his own language; and he was the best lexicon of western words, phrases, idioms, and proverbs, that I have ever met.

Such was the man that now stood before us in the dusk; the famous presiding elder of Illinois—the renowned Peter Cartwright. All honor to the brave old man, who still lives after an itinerancy of untold toil, hardship, and sufferings, which reaches nearly to the verge of sixty

years, and is to-day as indefatigable, zealous, and faithful as when in the prime of his strength. One feature of his life I must not omit to mention, the fact that he has sold more books than probably any man ever did in a new country. The Methodist economy enjoined it as a duty on the preacher to diffuse a sound literature, and to place good books in the home of the people. Unwearied here, as in everything else that he believed to be his duty, this minister never traveled, if in a buggy, without a trunk, or if on horseback, without a pair of saddle-bags, crammed with books. These he disposed of with all diligence, and has thus entitled himself to the lasting gratitude of many a youth, who, but for him, might have slumbered on without intelligence or education. I have dwelt upon the character of this man, not only because I love and revere him, but because I know of no one who may more fitly stand as the type of the pioneer preachers of the West—men whose worth, self-sacrifice, and labors, have never had their need of recognition.

While Milburn was a man of northern birth and education, he early lived and married in Washington, a city southern in its social life, and spent a large part of the time of his active ministry in southern cities as a pastor and preacher, beginning in Illinois. He was familiar with the life and times of the pioneer circuit rider in the west, both north and south of the Ohio river, and he knew the writers of prominence in the entire country in the early times, especially men of the south like Johnson J. Hooper, Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, T. B. Thorpe, Albert James Pickett, and others, whose books upon pioneer life and character in the southwest show the pioneers there to be in character and dialect only slightly different from those of the northwest, as the historians also agree.

More than any other writer I know, Milburn, in the middle of the last century,⁶⁷ stood, not only a cosmopolitan American, but distinctively a representative common type of the northwest and southwest. His almost total blindness seemed to enhance the vividness of his pictures of the pioneer fathers of his time, both east and west. His appreciation of the best as well as the worst side of human nature at the date of the establishment in the west of American democracy and American methodism gives a wholesome and truthful picture of western character in contrast with the apologies of certain writers of narrow vision, and the continuation in certain parts in the east, of the antagonisms born in a sectional

⁶⁷ This was still the pioneer age in Indiana, according to Parkman and Esarey.

struggle to prevent the political scepter from passing west of the Allegheny mountains.⁶⁸

Milburn describes the fathers in early Methodism as follows:⁶⁹

From my earliest recollection my father's house had been a home for Methodist preachers, and I had grown up with an ardent admiration and vehement affection for the toil-worn veterans of the olden time. The fame of their sufferings and self-sacrifice, of their simple faith and burning zeal, of their persecutions and successes, of their humor and eloquence, was familiar to me. They were noble men, those fathers of American Methodism, and worthy to be held in remembrance, Asbury, McKendree, George, Roberts, Emory, Merwin, Capers, Hope, Hull, and their associates. Their venerable appearance, set off with straight-breasted coats and vests and white cravats; their heads surmounted with broadbrimmed white beavers, and their grave dignity, relieved and rendered more effective by rays of humor and pleasant recitals of droll adventures, made a profound and lasting impression upon my childish fancy. It was usual among people of our condition in Philadelphia, to have "evening companies" several times a year, to which the prominent preachers and their families, besides other members of the society, were invited. I heartily wish that Mr. Dickens, whose chief ministerial acquaintances seem to belong to the school of Stiggins and Chadband, could have been present on some of these occasions. He would have seen representatives of hearty manhood that must have won his admiring regard, and heard bursts of humor as genial and pathetic as his own.

They were men of a wide and varied acquaintance with life, and an experience of the deep things of God; not lettered to any considerable extent, but reading human nature and its histories at first-hand. The ardor of an early enthusiasm had not been toned down by conventionalism, or chilled by skepticism and unbelief. The hardships, sufferings, and dangers which they had cheerfully undergone, the smallness of their salaries, the self-denying spirit which they were wont to manifest, together with their straightforward, independent bearing, made them dear to the hearts of the people. The relations of pastors and flock were of the most simple, friendly, and even intimate character; and whilst the seriousness of a Christian bearing was never compromised, intercourse was beautified and adapted to all sorts and classes of persons by an infusion of the most genial human tenderness.

Never, I suppose, will food taste as sweet to me again as did the

⁶⁸ Those writers who refuse to see the better side of western life and character prefer to confine their view to that class of low life described by Dr. Frederick J. Turner as "the scum that the waves of advancing civilization bore before them." "The significance of the frontier in American history."—*Report Am. Hist. Assn.* 1893, 232. Turner's essays have only recently been gathered in one volume under the title, *The Frontier in American History*, which for the first time gives an adequately broad view of the birth and growth of American Democracy.

⁶⁹ *Ten Years of Preacher Life*, 35.

suppers of those early days at the children's second table. But the relish of the viands was surpassed by the zest with which we youngsters, in the seats allotted to us among our elders, in the parlor, listened to the stories and adventures of these men, who in truth seemed to us prophets of the Lord. They were ever kindly in their regard for children, and were accustomed to speak some comfortable words to each child present. The evening's close was always hallowed by a chapter read from the Bible, a hymn in which the voices of all present joined, and a prayer earnestly commanding every one present to the care of Him who careth for all. What a strange fire glowed within the bosom, as I, a tow-headed urchin, stood with my face to the wall and listened to the harmonious voices swelling the praises of God, and thought of those glorious fathers, who, in all their wanderings and trials, felt that they were hidden beneath the hollow of an Almighty hand. They were the Paladins of my childhood's chivalry; knights, the weapons of whose warfare were not carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down of strongholds.

This early veneration and affection went with us to the west, and as soon as we were able to take possession of a house with a spare room, that room was styled the prophet's chamber, and our abode again became the home of the preachers. Making allowance for the differences between an older and a new country, they were men of the same school as those we had before known; for, notwithstanding the play of the most decisive individuality, the strongest family likeness marks all the Methodist preachers I have seen. I knew no greater pleasure than to act the part of hostler on behalf of the horses of our welcome guests, acquiring thereby a knowledge and skill in the use of horseflesh which stood me in good stead years after.

IDEALS OF THE CIRCUIT RIDER

The foundations of American methodism were laid by Francis Asbury on the ideals of John Wesley, who commissioned the former for work. John Wesley was the first circuit rider. Suzanah Wesley, his mother, a great woman, was the twenty-fourth child of her parents, and her son, John, was the fifteenth in a family of nineteen. Four of her children became famous. John Wesley always claimed that his mother was the founder of Methodism, and the history of his life furnishes evidence in support of that statement.⁷⁰ She was

⁷⁰ Elbert Hubbard, *Little Journeys to the Homes of Great Reformers, John Wesley*. This talented writer aspired to lead a school of thought which gave too scant reverence to religion in any of its forms, but who is cited because his biography of Wesley contains pivotal facts in condensed form which show Wesley to be one of the great reformers of the world, and his biography will be conceded to be free from bias in favor either of the Methodists or any other religious denomination.

in the great religious awakening of the eighteenth century in England in a sense what Cornelia was in Rome; it was Max Muller who said that Rome owed more to the mother of the Gracchi than to all of her grammarians.

John and Charles Wesley were invited by Oglethorpe—all were Oxford men—to go to Georgia, of which the latter was colonial governor, Charles “the greatest producer of hymns the world has ever seen” as private secretary, and John as missionary. Oglethorpe’s plan was an ideal commonwealth. Slavery, which John Wesley christened “the sum of all villainies” and the shadow in the colony of the “state religion of England which was a galvanized and gilded thing possessing everything but the breath of life,” prevented John Wesley succeeding as he wished, and he returned to England and was chosen college professor at Oxford for his moral influence, where he became the centre and leader of the great evangelical revival which began in Oxford university. He induced Asbury to come as a missionary to America and ordained him bishop. Asbury compared to Wesley is described as one who saved America as Wesley saved England.⁷¹

Methodism raised the standard of intellect in England to a degree no man can compute, says Leckey, the free thinking historian.⁷² With the foundations laid by Asbury, American methodism became a vital and integral factor of American democracy which came into full development at the time and locality of John Shrader’s labors.

Asbury in labors, suffering, spiritual force, intensity and persistency of purpose and absolute selfishness, rivaled, if he did not outrival, Wesley. He became the faithful replica of Wesley. For nearly fifty years he was the out rider of an ever growing army of apostolic men who knew neither self nor fear, who conquered a continent, and who covered it with a network of circuits and conferences. Wesley himself never devised and carried into execution so many plans of benevolence in connection with societies as did Asbury for the Methodist Episcopal church. Nor was this all. He was the first man on the continent to introduce Sabbath schools⁷³ in

⁷¹ *Francis Asbury Centenary*, Vol., 85.

⁷² Elbert Hubbard, *John Wesley*, 37.

⁷³ Strickland, *Life and Times of Francis Asbury*, 217.

Hanover county, Virginia in 1786, five years in advance of all others. He did not wait for the organization of educational, missionary, Bible, preacher, relief, tract and Sunday school societies before entering upon that work connected with those benevolent departments of church action, but combining all these departments in his own person, he originated and carried them into successful operation, and from the fact that these benevolent agencies all stand to this day, constantly increasing in magnitude and power, it is obvious that to this wonderful man belongs a share of wisdom rarely found to exist in man, and such as fitted him in a most eminent degree for the position he occupied as the head of the Methodist episcopal church in America.⁷⁴

Before his death, \$2000 was given him to aid in his general work. This sum he left by will to the infant publishing department of his church, which, by continuous growth, became and for many years has been the greatest religious publishing house in America and the oldest publishing house in the new world.

Asbury, under a resolution suggested by him to the general conference in New York in 1789, read an address of congratulation signed by Coke and himself, bishops, to Washington upon his first accession to the presidency. The Presbyterians and others followed, but Asbury was the leader of all in this step. Washington's answer was addressed "To the bishops of the Methodist episcopal church in the United States of America", and concluded by imploring "a divine benediction on the committee of bishops and your religious community".⁷⁵ With Washington, Asbury had many and friendly interviews, and was always on the side of the patriots in the Revolution.⁷⁶ Asbury had no home in America. In forty-five years he was always on the road. He prayed in 10,000 households and

⁷⁴ Strickland, *Life and Times of Francis Asbury*, 218.

⁷⁵ Strickland, *Asbury*, 232-234. These two documents are of historical interest. Seventy-five years later, in 1864, the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, sitting in Philadelphia, adjourned to permit its body of bishops to present an address to Abraham Lincoln, pledging to him in the darkest period of the Civil war the aid and support of northern methodism, and he responded that it was not the fault of other churches that methodism sent more nurses to the hospital and more soldiers to the field than any other denomination.

⁷⁶ Strickland, 230-7-8.

preached 17,000 sermons—labors incredible but for evidence contained in his journal which records the times and places.⁷⁷

Asbury was once asked by an eminent divine belonging to another branch of the church, "How is it that you take men from the tail of the plough, the blacksmith's shop, the carpenter's bench, and without sending them to college or divinity schools, set them to preach at once, and in a few years they became able ministers of the New Testament, equal, if not superior, to our men trained in collegiate and theological halls?" The venerable bishop answered, "We tell one another all we know, and then use it at once. A penny used is better than an idle dollar. You study books, we study men, the Bible, the hymn-book and Wesley's sermons, and are instant in season and out of season. I once picked up a fiddler, and he became a saint and a great preacher."

The almost military organization which Wesley impressed on methodism, gave it unequaled power in the new country. The class-meeting and its leader, the steward, the exhorters and local preachers, the circuit preachers and presiding elders, and over all, the superintendents or bishops, formed an army in which the drill and discipline were thorough and complete, while the spirit animating the whole was one of martial enthusiasm. Rank and file alike looked upon themselves as the soldiers of the Lamb. They looked upon human life as a conflict in which they warred against principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places. Their modes of thought and forms of speech were full of militant images, while their hymns and songs throbbed with the spirit of battle and of victory, and the banner of the cross was the watchword of old and young, men and women.⁷⁸

Milburn concludes a sketch of Asbury in these words:

Such a man was Bishop Asbury, to my mind one of the most important, if not the most important personage in the ecclesiastical history of this continent. With all respect to Jonathan Edwards, Dr. Dwight, Dr. Channing, and all the other eminent and pre-eminent men of New England—I have read them, and knew some of them—I think that Francis Asbury, that first superintendent and bishop of our Methodist church, was the most renowned and redoubtable soldier of the cross that

⁷⁷ Tipple, *Francis Asbury, the Prophet of the Long Road, 1738-182*; Curnock's edition of *Wesley's Journal*.

⁷⁸ Milburn, *Lance, Cross and Canoe*, 351.

ever advanced the standard of the Lord upon this continent. Yet you will not find his name in a single history of the United States that I know of; and it is a burning shame that it is so. He traveled for fifty years, on horseback, from Maine to Georgia, and from Massachusetts to the far west, as population extended; journeying in that time, as was computed, about three hundred thousand miles. He had the care of all the churches; was preaching instant in season and out of season; was laboring indefatigably with the young men to inspire and stimulate them; winning back the lost and bringing amorphous elements into harmony, in a church, which, when he began with it, in 1771, numbered probably not fifty members; and which, when he was an old man—he died in 1816—numbered, black and white, from Maine to California, and from far northwestern Oregon to sunny southern Florida, nearly a million of members. So vast a church did Francis Asbury build, almost solely by his own profound wisdom, untiring effort, and ceaseless devotion; and he did as much for building schoolhouses and colleges, erecting churches, establishing sound views of morality, and lofty purity in the forms of life; for gathering and establishing in doctrine and discipline this immense body of Christians, now (1850) the most numerous in the country, having more by one-third of stated ministers, and more colleges, than any other two denominations in the land. That one who has done this should not have had his name even so much as named in a single school history in the United States, I say is a shame. This man was surrounded by men much akin to him; for he seemed to infuse his spirit into all with whom he came in contact.⁷⁹

No man in the ecclesiastical history of the new world had labored and suffered as he had, and none had achieved greater results. The growing host of itinerant preachers beheld him with admiration and wonder as he hastily passed in his long routes—meeting them ever and anon for a few days and then disappearing on the frontier or in the distant north and south—night and day, sounding the trumpet of the gospel and hastening forward as if the final judgment were about to break upon the world.⁸⁰ One of that host of itinerant preachers was John Shrader, who in his twenty-second year was ordained deacon by Bishop Asbury at Lebanon, Tennessee, at the Tennessee conference in 1814, two years before the death of the bishop.

Moses Ashworth attended the western conference in 1805, 1806, 1807, and 1808, over all of which Bishop Asbury presided, and Ashworth was ordained by him. Cartwright's *Autobiography* is full of facts and incidents describing his

⁷⁹ W. H. Milburn, *Pioneers, Preachers and People*, 369.

⁸⁰ Stephen, *Life of Nathaniel Bangs*, quoted in *Francis Asbury's Centenary*, Vol. 87.

meeting with Asbury, his ordination, his appointments as presiding elder by the bishop over his earnest protest, the fatherly care and advice received from the bishop, and a full account of his death is given.⁸¹ Much of the resemblance in spirit and work of these two wonderful men of different type may, no doubt, be traced to the impress of one upon the other.

Until his health gave way, under the exposure in all kinds of weather in continuous travel on horse-back, often sleeping in the unsheltered wilderness, which compelled him in 1821 to locate, and still later as a local preacher during a long life, John Shrader and his associates faithfully carried out the ideals of Wesley and Asbury, and followed their example in the introduction and spread of the gospel in the west.

HARRISON AND THE CIRCUIT RIDERS

The comparison already referred to between the life and work of John Shrader in the second decade of the nineteenth century as a circuit rider, like Cartwright, Ashworth and others, under the commission and inspiration of Francis Asbury, the greatest of all the circuit riders, with that of the early Jesuit missionaries of the Catholic church, has its confirmation in contemporaneous authority. The method of Catholic treatment of converts was, however, wholly different from that of methodism.⁸² The former was European in its origin and ideals. The character of the people of the early French settlements of the old northwest, Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes has been so frequently described as to leave no doubt as to the policy of the Catholic church in its dealings with the early French traders, Indians and half-breeds at the trading posts established by the French.

Faux on his trip west from Philadelphia in the fall of 1819, to visit his friend, John Ingle of Saundersville in the English settlement, stopped long enough in Vincennes to take an inventory of the people and their appearance, and thus describes them, but while honest, his want of judicial temperament, and his bias in favor of friendly treatment and against an unfriendly reception, so colors his story, as a rule un-

⁸¹ Strickland, *Cartwright*, 58, 97, 98, 111, 126, 127, 139, 140, 152.

⁸² Holliday, *Indiana Methodism*, 49.

friendly to western life, that much allowance must be made for it:

The town of Vincennes is more than 200 years old; older than Philadelphia; but being of French origin, and in the neighborhood of the Indians, ever hostile to the inhabitants and settlers round it, has grown but slowly, and is an antique lump of deformity. Although long the capital and mother town of the state, it looks like an old, worn out, dirty village of wooden frame houses, which a fire might improve, for improvement generally has to travel through flames. Here is no church, save the Catholic church, the inhabitants being principally French Canadians, and the rest the refuse of the east, whose crimes have driven them hither, or dissipated young men unable to live at home. Hence Sunday is only a day of frolic and recreation, which commences on the Saturday evening, when every preparation is devoutly made for the Sabbath, and off they start in large parties on foot and on horseback, all riflemen and cunning hunters, into the deep recesses of the forest, camping out all night in readiness for Sabbath sacrifices, the bucks, the bears, the squirrels, and the turkeys, ready to be offered up by peep of day. This holy day is consequently ushered in by guns, which continue to roar in and around the town all day until sunset. The stranger might think it was closely besieged, or that an enemy was approaching.

I rambled round the town to the court-house, or shire-hall, really externally an elegant building, but decaying before finished, as though the state were unable to finish what it had so well begun before counting the cost.

I saw a large party of Miami Indian hunters, accompanied by their ugly squaws, all on horseback, and all astride, with their tomahawks and frightful knives girdled round them, dressed in blankets and turbans, and painted red, green, black, and white; every feature having a different shade of colour, and all, save the squaws, apparently half drunk, having their bottle of fire-water, or whiskey, with them, which, after drinking from it themselves, they stopped and handed to me and my friend Baker. We took it and applied it to our lips, it being considered the perfection of rudeness and barbarism, and little short of enmity, to refuse anything so kindly offered. This tribe had approached the town for the purpose of selling their venison. Each horse carried two or three quarters, fat and fine, ready skinned, and hanging down its sides. The price was only a quarter dollar for 30 lbs., not an English half-penny per pound.

Although Vincennes is an old mother town, abounding rich land, it is uncultivated, and there is occasionally a scarcity of necessaries, particularly of milk and butter, which, with the worst tea, are dealt out very sparingly; no lump sugar, no brandy, no segars, no spitoons are seen at this hotel.⁸³

Wilson's *History of Dubois County*, a part of Knox county before 1814, including biographies of Capt. Toussaint Dubois

⁸³ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XI, 207.

and the very Rev. Joseph Kundeck V.G., contains an interesting and impartial description of Knox county life at the time of which I am speaking. Perhaps the most comprehensive view of both sides of early French dominion and the nature of its mixed society under Catholic control is found in Milburn's delightful chapter which he calls a French idyll.⁸⁴

When W. H. Harrison was appointed governor of Indiana territory upon its organization in 1800, he removed to Vincennes capital, where he lived until after the admission of the state of Indiana to the union in 1816. Of this city, Esarey says, referring to Harrison's removal there as his residence "Besides, there was scarcely a western post at that time with a reputation as objectionable as that of Vincennes."⁸⁵

Here came Cartwright in 1808 as a great controversial debater and planted the standards of methodism in an organized circuit.⁸⁶ In 1812 for a year Vincennes was his residence as presiding elder. Moses Ashworth in 1807 launched methodism on the Silver Creek circuit on its separate career, in Indiana territory.⁸⁷

In 1815 John Shrader was sent by the Tennessee conference on the Green River circuit to Vincennes, and the vigorous domination of methodism in the wilderness settlements is mentioned by Elijah Goodwin, a pioneer preacher of much force, whose relation to methodism as a preacher in a rival denomination became somewhat strained in "the struggle between the sects" but who as a youth in Daviess county was under Methodist influence, and whose testimony is an unconscious tribute to the wonderful success of Shrader's work on the circuit, which met him wherever he went, and this was on his first appearance in Indiana in 1815 and 1816.⁸⁸ All of these circuit riders were men of prominence in the then thinly settled territory before the admission of the state, and there can be little doubt that Harrison knew them all when engaged in their work in southern Indiana.

The testimony of Harrison himself, based in part, I be-

⁸⁴ W. H. Milburn, *The Lance, Cross and Canoe*. See Esarey, *Hist. of Indiana*, I, pp. 1 to 12 and 154.

⁸⁵ Esarey, *Hist. of Indiana*, I, p. 175.

⁸⁶ Cartwright's *Autobiography*, 55.

⁸⁷ Sweet's *Circuit Rider*, 8.

⁸⁸ James M. Mathes, *Life of Elijah Goodwin*, 23.

lieve, upon his experience with and knowledge of Ashworth, Cartwright and Shrader, as well as others, must always stand as the judgment of a competent and impartial historian. The "Vincennes" circuit in 1809 was filled by Rev. William Winans.

William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana territory, had established his headquarters there; and William Winans was the first protestant preacher to visit the place. One of his first services was a night appointment for preaching in the fort. The government officers, a few English and French settlers, and two or three Indians, make up the audience. A few tallow candles furnish all their light for the occasion. One of these is kindly held by Governor Harrison for the young preacher, while he reads his text and hymn. And in that dingy room young Winans delivers his gospel message in such a manner as commends both the preacher and his message to the hearts of his hearers. Winans was a young man of fine personal appearance; not handsome, but commanding in his appearance; a little above the medium height, with an open countenance, a clear, strong voice, an easy, rather negligent manner, that showed perfect self-possession and self-reliance, qualities of great value to the frontier missionary, who has no treasury to depend on, and whose audiences are, for the most part, composed of strangers. Winans did not disappoint the expectations of his friends. He rose to eminence, and was for many years a recognized leader of the forces of methodism in the state of Mississippi, into the bounds of which conference he fell by the division of territory.⁸⁹

The following testimonial of the character of the circuit rider is given in a letter written by William Henry Harrison before he became president:

Who and what are they? I answer, entirely composed of ministers who are technically denominated "circuit-riders," a body of men who, for zeal and fidelity in the discharge of the duties they undertake, are not exceeded by any others in the world. I have been a witness of their conduct in the western country for nearly forty years. They are men whom no labor tires, no scenes disgust, no danger frightens, in the discharge of their duty. To gain recruits for their Master's service,

⁸⁹ Sweet, *Circuit Rider*, 9; Esarey, *History of Indiana*, 1, 318; Holliday, *Methodism*, 28. For a fuller account of Dr. Winan's distinguished career see W. C. Smith, *Indiana Miscellanies*, 52.

they sedulously seek out the victims of vice in the abode of misery and wretchedness. The vow of poverty is not taken by these men, but their conduct is precisely the same as it would have been had they taken one. Their stipulated pay is barely sufficient to enable them to perform the services assigned to them. With much the larger portion, the horse which carries them is the only animated thing which they can call their own, and the contents of their valise, or saddle-bags, the sum total of their earthly possessions.

If within the period I have mentioned, a traveler on the western frontier had met a stranger in some obscure way, or assiduously urging his course through the intricacies of a tangled forest, his appearance staid and sober, and his countenance indicating that he was in search of some object in which his feelings were deeply interested, his apparel plain but entirely neat, and his baggage adjusted with peculiar compactness, he might be almost certain that the stranger was a Methodist preacher, hurrying on to perform his daily task of preaching to separate and distant congregations; and should the same traveler, upon approaching some solitary, unfinished, and scarcely habitable cabin, hear the praises of the Creator chanted with peculiar melody, or the doctrines of the Savior urged upon the attention of some six or eight individuals with the same energy and zeal that he had seen displayed in addresses to a crowded audience of a populous city, he might be certain, without inquiry, that it was the voice of the Methodist minister.⁹¹

While Harrison was an aristocrat and an earnest partisan in favor of slavery, (?) when he formed his estimate of the circuit rider of the Methodist church, the divergence of interest and ideals of the northwest and the southwest, particularly the result of slavery agitation, had not yet made great progress. There was yet much in common between these sections, which contributed to the formation of American democracy.⁹²

⁹¹ Milburn, *The Lance, Cross and Canoe*, 390. Same author, *The Rifle, Axe and Saddle-bags*, 76.

⁹² Turner, "Dominant Forces in Western Life." *Atlantic Monthly*, 79, 438, "Significance of the Frontier," *Am. Hist. Assn. Rep.* 1893, p. 220. Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, Ch. Men of the Western Waters. Roosevelt, *Life of Benton*, Chs. 3, 8, 9, 13 and 14. The current of emigration into Indiana at this period was chiefly from the south described by Prof. Thomas F. Moran, *Bulletin 11, Proc. of Indiana State Hist. Conference*, 1919, p. 13.

STRUGGLE OF THE SECTS IN INDIANA

Shrader and Ashworth came from Tennessee—Cartwright from Kentucky. The first two were not controversialists and particularly Shrader was the opposite of Cartwright, who was a controversialist of first rank for the time. Shrader was educated, and the Wheelers and Parrett were educated in England.

The Baptists were first to cross the mountains with the earliest wave of pioneer life and, better than all others till the Methodists came, represented the body of the people and knew how to reach them, and they have held their precedence in Kentucky till this day.⁹³ The stern character of the Scotch with a foundation of Calvinistic theology was not softened in that movement of the Scotch Irish into Kentucky, the third wave of frontier emigration, the overflow from which a generation later formed the body of the settlers of the southern tier of counties in Indiana. Roosevelt says that their theology lacked the warmth of that of the Baptists and the Methodists.⁹⁴

The first aid to Baptists and Presbyterians in early Evansville came from the local organizations in Henderson, Kentucky, which town was a generation older than Evansville.⁹⁵ But this was an organization merely and without a regular preacher.

The ideals of Methodists were Puritan English from Wesley through Asbury, presented by a pioneer ministry. Cartwright, Ashworth and Shrader were all ordained by Asbury and sent by him into the territory north of the Ohio river; the Presbyterian minister who represented that denomination came to the west as a missionary with the tenets and conventions of the theological schools.⁹⁶

In the great revival of 1800 in Kentucky the Presbyterians,

⁹³ Cotherill, *History of Pioneer Kentucky*, 243. Wiley, letters, *Western Christian Advocate*, Aug. 29, 1845.

⁹⁴ Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, Pt. 1, Ch. 5, p. 170.

⁹⁵ Riley, *History of Walnut Street Church*, 7.

⁹⁶ The first Presbyterian minister resident in Evansville was Rev. Calvin Butler (father of the late John M. Butler, one of the leaders of the Indiana Bar). He came in 1830 and remained four years, after which there remained some years with no pastor to the church, which was built under Butler's administration, during which interval services were held by Parrett and Wheeler, in which all denominations joined. Riley's *History of Walnut Street Church*, 18.

Baptists and Methodists joined forces, but they were before and after that time at loggerheads, and the controversies among the sects were probably fostered by the jealousy and fears of the Calvinistic elements in the east that individualism unrestrained in the west would endanger the liberties and religion of the former. There seemed to be a real apprehension on the part of the leaders in eastern religious and intellectual life that the west was drifting into conditions which threatened the existence of organized society as it existed in the east.⁹⁷

New England bitterly opposed the granting of homesteads to the early settlers upon the public domain in the west. John Adams in a speech in congress said:

The slaveholders of the south have bought the co-operation of the western country by the bribe of western lands, abandoning to the new western states their own proportion of the public property, and aiding them in the design of grasping all the lands in their own hands.

Turner says that the east has always feared the result of an unregulated advance of the frontier, and has tried to check it and guide it. The most effective efforts of the east to regulate the frontier came through its educational and religious activities, exercised by interstate migration and missionary activities. The dread of western emancipation from New England political and economic control was paralleled by her fears lest the west cut loose from her religion. Various sects and denominations strove for the mastery of the west. Home missions and western colleges were established, some of the sections sent missionaries, and the real struggle was between the sects. The contest for power and the expansive tendency, furnished to the various sects by the existence of the moving frontier, must have had important results on the character of the religious organizations in the United States. The multiplication of rival churches in the little frontier towns had deep and lasting social effects—the religious aspect of the frontier makes a chapter in our history which needs study.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Lyman Beecher issued an address expressing this fear, which is quoted in Turner's *The Frontier in American History*, 35. Later his son, Henry Ward Beecher, came to Indianapolis and remained as pastor for some time.

⁹⁸ F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, 36. *The Christian Traveller*, by Isaac Reed, and *Memoir of Sylvester Scovel*, by Wood, contain reliable record of Presbyterian missionary work in Indiana in the early part of the last century.

The facts furnished by Turner which call attention to the struggle between the sects for the control of the west, throw light upon some dramatic events in the history of Indiana, especially in its educational history. Interpreting these facts from the viewpoint mentioned, the verification of Dr. Turner's statement is found. In the establishment of a state university in embryo at Bloomington, and in the development of education by the state for a period of more than fifty years, the work was marked by a bitter struggle with the Presbyterian element, on the one side, thoroughly organized, probably in the east, and the Baptists, Methodists, Quaker and other denominations on the other side.

Dr. Holliday, who had personal knowledge of the facts relating to the history of education in pioneer Indiana, charges with much feeling that the Presbyterian church assumed practically exclusive control of the state university, the selection of its teachers, and the expenditure of its funds, directly in aid of that religious sect and to the injury and exclusion of members of other sects.⁹⁹

Professor Sweet gives the facts on this subject in an impartial manner. The Indiana Methodist episcopal conference in 1834 presented a memorial, including a petition to the state legislature of Indiana, demanding an equitable share of the privileges in the state university for the Methodist church with others. In the memorial it is stated:¹⁰⁰

We would impress it upon your honorable body that literature belongs to no one denomination of persons, and that no one exclusively, should be allowed to possess the keys that unlock her treasures. We apprehend that the funds of our State College were designed by their munificent donors to patronize science and advocate the cause of general literature and not of religious sects, and should it be divested from its original design (directly or indirectly) the donors are despoiled of a rich inheritance, and the legacy itself betrayed to a very questionable purpose * * *. We look in its charter (State College) and read that the places of president, professors and tutors are open, soliciting capacity to occupy them without regard to religious professions or doctrines. We then turn our eyes on the faculty from the organization of the Institution up to this hour and we see one common hue, one common religion characterize every member, as if capacity and fitness were combined to one church and one set of religious opinion. The memorial did

⁹⁹ *Indiana Methodism*, 317.

¹⁰⁰ Sweet, *Circuit Rider Days in Indiana*, 59.

not ask that the state college be put either in whole or in part under the control of the Methodist church but they simply asked that the trustees of the college be elected for a definite term of years and that vacancies, as they occurred, should be filled by the legislature and not by the remaining members of the board of trustees, as had been the custom heretofore.

This memorial was signed by the members of the conference, and six other similar memorials were presented to the state legislature numerously signed, all of which were referred to the committee on education, but for some reason the committee never took any action in reference to them.

That there were deep feeling, controversy and friction among the people in Indiana resulting from this struggle among the sects, there can be no doubt. It began with the beginning of the state university, and was in a large degree the cause of the establishment of a number of denominational colleges, some of them in protest against what was called the denominational control of the state university; but it required two generations of educated men and women from all the colleges in Indiana to silence that controversy, and it is only in recent years that the large appropriations for educational purposes by the legislature to the state university have not met with more or less opposition from the source mentioned; the deep and permanent influence of that struggle upon the social and religious life and character of the people of Indiana can never be measured, and can only be understood by the older generation; there is little mention of it in the writings of the time.¹⁰¹

Whatever may be said of this controversy which began with the beginning of public education in the state, much allowance must be made for the spirit of the age, and it cannot be denied that among the backwoodsmen who first settled Indiana there was much illiteracy, and that both secular and

¹⁰¹ It is said by persons well informed on the subject that during the term when Conrad Baker was governor, and Will Cumback, lieutenant governor of Indiana, the fierce controversy which arose between those two gentlemen in connection with the proposal to elect Baker U. S. senator and permit Cumback to become governor, was one in which two great religious denominations became involved; and that these gentlemen, who were both men of high ability and character, each a leader in one of the churches referred to, were killed politically in the duel, although it was conceded by all that the influence in the legislature of the members of the two churches combined could easily have controlled it.

religious education was greatly to be desired. However such results may have been obtained, and making due allowance for the weakness of human nature under the circumstances, it must be admitted that the stand taken by the Presbyterians, both in the matters of secular education and in the demand for an educated ministry, have in a substantial degree aided in the elevation of those standards to that extent they are entitled to credit.

AMERICAN METHODISM AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

When I was drafted by the mayor of Evansville, in 1916, into the organization and work of the historical commission of the centennial of Evansville, I began immediately to extend my reading on frontier history. In 1918 appeared a *History of the American People*, in which I was astonished to find the statement that "Dr. Frederick J. Turner is the first true interpreter of the frontier in our history"; and as a summary of the chapter on the "Northwest a National Domain", Professor West defines "the key to the meaning of the west in American history" in terms first announced by Turner in 1893.^{101a} In his reference to Turner, West also particularly recommends every student to read an article by Woodrow Wilson, and one by Samuel Crothers.¹⁰² The article of Wilson included the statement in substance that our national history has for the most part been written by New England men from a sectional viewpoint, which over-estimated Puritan influence in the development of national character. The article of Crothers in a vein of keen humor if not sarcasm charges in substance that the narrow sectional view of New England life has been mistaken as the basis of the spirit of the life of the whole nation.¹⁰³

Turner's writings, with the exception of the volume *Rise of the New West*, have been delivered as addresses and published in magazines, but in 1920 most of them were published in book form under the title *The Frontier in American History*.

^{101a} William Mason West, *History of the American People*, 270.

¹⁰² *Id.* 270

¹⁰³ For a fuller statement on this point, see *Indiana Magazine of History*, 15, p. 144; see also Woodrow Wilson, *The Course of American History* (mere literature), 218; Samuel McChord Crothers, *The Pardoner's Wallet. The land of the large and charitable air*, 148.

Without attempting to quote the summary of Professor West, or to summarize in limited space so great a work, which throughout all of the addresses centres to the single theme, I may say that Dr. Turner's views expressed in various forms are to the effect that the dominant democracy recognized as the true type of our national democracy, was developed into full life and power about the period which he fixes as the rise of the new west (1819-1829), that Thomas Jefferson was the John the Baptist, not the Moses of democracy;¹⁰⁴ that notwithstanding the shudder with which New England Federalism looked at the democratic ideas of those who refused to recognize the established order, there came into the union a sister-hood of frontier states, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, with provisions for the franchise which brought in a full democracy;¹⁰⁵ and that the spirit of that democracy typified by Abraham Lincoln embodied as its ideal, emphasis upon the worth and possibilities of the common man, of its belief in the right of every man to rise to the full measure of his own nature, under conditions of social mobility. "Western democracy was no theorist's dream. It came stark and strong from the American forest."¹⁰⁶ The westerner has been the type and master of our national life.¹⁰⁷ In his editor's introduction to the *Rise of the New West* Albert Bushnell Hart emphasizes the fact that Turner is a descendant of New Yorkers of New England stock, "but" admits that "he is native to the west".

He does not even call attention to the originality or great historical value of Dr. Turner's interpretation of frontier life and dismisses the subject generally with three sentences, including a reference to the transformation of the west from a rude and boisterous frontier to a group of states, similar in part to the process through which Massachusetts and Pennsylvania and Virginia passed as colonies.¹⁰⁸

The authorities cited referring to Turner's writings and especially the writings themselves make clear that the dominant democracy of America today came from the beginnings of frontier life in the Ohio valley in the society of the children

¹⁰⁴ *Frontier in American History*, 251.

¹⁰⁵ Turner, *Rise of the New West*, 251-2.

¹⁰⁶ *Id.* 113.

¹⁰⁷ Woodrow Wilson, *The Course of American History* (mere literature), 218.

¹⁰⁸ Editor's introduction, *Rise of the New West*, p. XIV.

of the wilderness tutored in the schooling of the wilderness, freed from poisonous European germs existing in the Atlantic coast states from which the backwoodsmen of the Alleghenies and the men of the western waters and their ancestors had fled or been driven into the wilderness. Their Hoosier descendants have come into their own, but they also are very slow to recognize the fact. Parkman is recognized by all succeeding historians as master in his matchless narration of the story of frontier life during the period covered by his writings. "Perhaps because he was a New Englander he missed a great opportunity and neglected to portray the formation and advance of the backwood society."¹⁰⁹ Turner has done this, and has made it clear that upon free soil, under free institutions, about the time and place of Abraham Lincoln, in the midst of the "plain people" in southern Indiana, American democracy produced its first true type.

Methodism came from the southwest to the northwest. A proper understanding of the development of both, in the first three decades of the last century, will show that the itinerant system of methodism was the handmaid of democracy in the Ohio valley. The Methodist preacher made no compromises on questions of right and wrong, and when the issue of toleration of human slavery in the ownership of slaves by a Methodist bishop's wife was first presented, the church was divided by secession of the southern churches in 1844. The great schism in methodism resulting in the establishment of the Methodist episcopal church south was caused by the controversy over slavery and was one of the most potent exhibitions of public opinion in the nation following the rapid growth of free American democracy. Political compromises delayed the Civil war seventeen years later, but it resulted from the same cause.

Allen Wiley's *History of the Introduction of Methodism in Southeastern Indiana* traces for a short period a number of the circuit riders in southwestern Indiana while both sections were in one conference, but gives meager details of little aid in any inquiry like the present one. But as a history of methodism beginning in territorial days, as well as the record of pioneer life and society, it will rank as one of the most

¹⁰⁹ Turner, *Frontier in American History*, 163.

valuable extant.¹¹⁰ These were the times of Christian commonwealth builders who came, as Garrison describes them, with the first pioneers in the wilderness. Such men were Francis Asbury, Moses Ashworth, Peter Cartwright, John Shrader, and that host of itinerants, worthy to be described and carefully studied by the future historian. No history of methodism, no history of American democracy, is complete without them.

THE CIRCUIT RIDER AS PREACHER, STATESMAN AND EDUCATOR

One of the primary duties of an itinerant was to seek out the settlers and to conduct service in private houses or public places, and, whenever local talent in the person of local preachers was available, enlist it in religious work. It was an important step of this character in which John Shrader had gathered together three educated and able Wesleyan ministers, who had just come into the English settlement in southwestern Indiana, and announced regular preaching every other Sabbath in the hamlet of Evansville, just one hundred years ago, recorded in local history as an event of unusual importance which we celebrate today.

Milburn thus describes his first sermon in Illinois:¹¹¹

As we proceeded, he told me I should have to preach that afternoon at four o'clock, and he turned a deaf ear to all my entreaties to be let off. Up to this time I had never taken a text, for all my exercises had been in the shape of exhortations, delivered after some more experienced person had expounded. My first sermon must be preached somewhere, and why not then and there? So it was delivered to half a dozen men in their shirt-sleeves, with the sweat of the plough on their brows, their teams left standing in the fields the while, and to as many women in sun-bonnets, whose knitting and pipes were laid aside when the hymn was given out. The rustle of the green leaves stirred by the pleasant wind, the song of the birds, and the golden sunshine as it lay upon the puncheon floor on that cheerful summer afternoon, are remembered yet, and also that my first sermon was but fifteen minutes long.

The next day we reached a village consisting of a dozen or twenty houses. In the evening we attended an examination of the school; at

¹¹⁰ Thirty-seven articles in the *Western Christian Advocate* in 1845-6 by Allen Wiley. No. 2 of this series is an ably written description of the character, life and habits of the men and women of the early time in Southern Indiana. With it should be read Dr. Logan Esarey's article on the "Hoosier Aristocracy," *Indiana Magazine of History*, Sept., 1918.

¹¹¹ W. H. Milburn, *Ten Years of Preacher's Life*, 60 and 90.

the close of the exercises, one of my new friends mounted an empty barrel which stood in the corner of the room, and had been used as a seat, and called out in the old Norman form, "Oyez! Oyez! Take notice Brother William Milburn will preach in the meeting-house to-morrow night at early candle-lighting!" No sooner was the last word out of his mouth than the barrel-head gave way and the reverend clerk, falling to the earth, went after the fashion of Regulus, rolling about among the legs of the audience, his desperate exertions to escape only making his plight the sadder and increasing the confusion.

In busy seasons of the year, when the people were engaged in ploughing, planting, harvesting, or gathering corn fodder, a week-day congregation would sometimes consist of three or four aged sisters.

The preacher was frequently a fine singer, and his equipment as chorister was essential to successful church meetings. He usually armed himself with three tunes, a long, short and common meter; but this did not always prevent someone starting a long meter tune to shorter meter words. Milburn describes the work of pastor in the sparsely settled wilderness, which shows the adaptation of the itinerant system to the needs of all of the settlers:¹¹²

It required four weeks to make the round, a ride of nearly three hundred miles, and demanding on an average a sermon a day. After the public duties of the ministry are performed, it is expected that the preacher shall meet the members of the society in private, and converse with each one on his spiritual concerns. In his twelve or thirteen rounds during the year, if he be a man of active and enterprising habits, he will almost inevitably make the acquaintance of every man, woman and child in the county, and break bread at the tables of the great majority of the hospitable householders.

The circuit rider was in many localities almost the only means of communication of the backwoodsmen with the outer world. He was more intelligent than the great majority of the settlers.¹¹³ He was interested in their general welfare. He often took the place of the presiding elder, and was often the only emissary of the gospel or professional man who came in the settlements, more frequently called "clearings", for long periods. He was active in matters of right and wrong, public and private, which became important in secular life. His field and his discretion were almost without limit in the exer-

¹¹² W. H. Milburn, *Ten Years of Preacher's Life*, 81.

¹¹³ See testimony of a pioneer in Warrick County, 356.

cise of authority given him by the church, and in public opinion he often sounded the key note in matters of general public concern. To this day, when some question of great public interest calls for information it is a common occurrence for some Methodist bishop to be interviewed by the Associate press reporter in any part of the country where he may happen to be found, and such avenues to public opinion have weight, as the intelligent reader has learned to have faith in the knowledge and reliability of this source of information.¹¹⁴ In a more simple way, in keeping with the spirit of a primitive age, the itinerant was the outrider on matters of public interest from the world without to the farthest borders of the wilderness.

The circuit rider was an educator as well as a religious instructor. There were with many pioneers no books or papers, no public lectures or educating platform addresses. The stump speech of politicians and a jury argument in court always attracted a good crowd, but the sermon and private influence of a prominent minister often outranked them all, and the school teacher himself. I have heard my father, who always spoke with reverence of the impress on his early life by the circuit rider, say that he inspired in him his highest ideals, and he recognized the influence of the early preacher in his home above that of the school teacher in inspiring his youth. The preacher rode horseback, generally reaching the cabin before dinner, where he was expected, upon each trip around the circuit. On his arrival the horses, if in the field, were unhitched where they stood, and the boys sent post haste in all directions to call the scattered settlers to a preaching service usually held at the cabin about four o'clock.

As the historian of the events celebrated on this occasion, I declare the obligation not only of individuals but of all the people of the state of Indiana to these early preachers who sacrificed their health, their chances of worldly promotion, and sometimes their lives in the effort to carry the searchlight of Christian education and civilization into this wilderness, one hundred years ago.

¹¹⁴ During the world's war, Bishop William F. Anderson ranked high among the statesmen of America in his knowledge of conditions actually existing and in his judgment upon the problems relating to great interests involved in negotiations following the war.

I have heard my father say that the first English grammar he ever saw was given to him in his youth by a Methodist preacher, an event which seemed at that time to be one of supreme importance. It was to him a great book, for it was the science of correct speech among illiterate backwoodsmen.

Macaulay says that the Greeks had but few books, but they were great books, and that the best mental discipline does not come from turning over great libraries, but from reading and re-reading a few great books and mastering them. A remarkable illustration of this truth is found in the life of Abraham Lincoln. John Nicolay, in his single volume edition of the life of Lincoln recently issued, mentions five books which Lincoln is known to have read while he lived in Indiana from the age of seven to the age of twenty-one, although there is reliable testimony to the point that he read many books, the names of which are not preserved. The fact is, proper investigation at the proper time of facts relating to Lincoln in Indiana was not made, and the result is this important period of his development is almost a blank in his biographies or treated as such by his biographers.

After mentioning these five books, Nicolay says of Lincoln "When he had exhausted other books, he even resolutely attacked the *Revised Statutes of Indiana*."¹¹⁵

Another biographer of Lincoln, commenting upon the statement of historians, based upon the statements of Lincoln's neighbors that Lincoln read and re-read those statutes with the deepest interest and, even after he left Indiana at the age of twenty-one, while in Illinois, was so familiar with the contents of that volume that he could refer to them page by page at much length, ridicules these statements, and as conclusive evidence of the fact that they are untrue, declares that they are the uninteresting record of statutes.¹¹⁶

But these men know not of what they speak. I have had in my law library for fifty years an old copy of the *Revised Statutes of Indiana of 1824*, with the names of two generations of lawyers written upon it, a book from the Corydon press, a duplicate in every respect of the statutes which Lincoln borrowed from Turnham. The first thing in these statutes is

¹¹⁵ Nicolay, *Abraham Lincoln*, 14.

¹¹⁶ Frederick T. Hill, *Lincoln the Lawyer*, 11-13.

the Declaration of Independence; next, the Constitution of the United States; then the Constitution of Indiana, and then a series of statutes setting out the procedure and practice in law and equity as applied to civil government, and an outline of the form of organization of the government of a free democracy, state, congressional, county, township and town, with a variety of statutes upon subjects of interest to the people.

From the standpoint now of Lincoln's life and career this collection in one book was indeed a great one. The English common law, in the study and practice of which I have spent fifty years of my life, is in my judgment the best system of logic applied to the practical affairs of men which the literature of the world has produced. The system of equity arose out of the conscience of the English judges, and law and equity as outlined in these old statutes represented the evolution of the life of the English people for one thousand years, and the form of these statutes on court practice and procedure was taken largely from those of the older states. There is a maxim in equity most frequently quoted and most effective of all defenses when properly made out, that he who has unclean hands shall not come into a court of equity. This maxim is taken from a verse in the Psalms, which declares that he who hath not clean hands and a pure heart shall not come into the house of the Lord.

Let the historians answer the question, What more was needed after he had mastered the contents of this volume to equip Abraham Lincoln for the lifework before him, as he later followed it, when in his twenty-second year, on foot, he drove an ox team out of this wilderness to the prairies of Illinois? In a very short time he entered a public career and soon measured to the mastery with the best equipped and ablest men of the state.¹¹⁷ Let Abraham Lincoln himself

¹¹⁷ In an address delivered before the conference of the Historical Societies of Indiana, December 12, 1920, published in Indiana State Historical publications, Judge Robert W. McBride, who served for a long period in his youth in the select cavalry body guard of Lincoln when President, makes the following statement of the influence of his Indiana life on Lincoln: "I realize that the recital of any authentic incident connected with the life of Abraham Lincoln has interest, but there are reasons why the people of Indiana should feel especial interest in anything relating to him, for he was essentially an Indiana product. When he was brought from Kentucky to Indiana, he was only seven years of age. When he left Indiana for Illinois he was twenty-one years old,—a man

answer that question. Referring to the influence of the Declaration of Independence and the constitution of the United States, particularly the former, in forming his life and character, hear what he says on that subject himself in two speeches made in Liberty Hall in Philadelphia February 22, 1861, when he was on his way to Washington for his first inauguration:

I can say in return, sir, that all the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated in and were given to the world from this hall. I have never had a feeling politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence.

In his speech of February 21, 1861, in that hall, he said:

As it were, to listen to those breathings, rising within the consecrated walls wherein the constitution of the United States, and, I will add, the Declaration of Independence, were originally framed and adopted. I assure you and your mayor that I had hoped on this occasion, and upon all occasions during my life, that I shall do nothing inconsistent with the teachings of these holy and most sacred walls. I have never asked anything that does not breathe from those walls. All my political warfare has been in favor of the teachings that come forth from these sacred walls. May my right hand forget its cunning and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if ever I prove false to those teachings.

It was no accident that when the constitution of Indiana, in 1816, prohibited human slavery and the government domain in the old northwest was practically free, Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks Lincoln brought the boy Abraham into the wilderness of Indiana the same year. The Almighty had set him apart in the wilderness and led him up to Himalayan heights, so that he might, in the fullness of time, as the apostle of freedom and divine justice among men, strike the shackles from the hands of slaves.

in years, in stature, and in mentality. The fourteen years between seven and twenty-one are in large measure the formative years in a man's character. In those years the boy Lincoln had become the man Lincoln. The foundation for the future lawyer, statesman and humanitarian, had been laid, direction and color had been given to the trend of his thoughts and inclinations, and that which followed was only development. It was the flowering and fruiting of a plant transplanted from Kentucky but grown on Indiana soil." Lincoln's growth to manhood in Indiana is given full emphasis by Turner. *The Frontier in American History*, 256-241.

It was in this wilderness, from those dry statutes, as the historians speak of them, and the works on equity in Pitcher and Breckenridge's offices, that Abraham Lincoln learned that justice on earth comes from the throne of God.¹¹⁸

THE PASSING OF JOHN SHRADER

The historian tells us that the backwoods pioneers loved to call themselves the "Men of the Western Waters", because they had settled along the streams where communication with others was easier and life was safer, than in the interior of the dense forests, and this is the title given by Roosevelt to the greatest chapter in the greatest of his books.¹¹⁹ Our pioneer Christian fathers named their conferences, districts, circuits and societies after the streams. There was, when John Shrader joined the Tennessee conference, the Cumberland and Green River districts, and north of the Ohio river there were, in southern Indiana, circuits called Whitewater,

¹¹⁸ These words appear in the mss. of my address delivered in December, 1919, prepared before that date, and it is a coincidence that the same idea, though in different words, is found in the work of William E. Barton, *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln*, 50, published in 1920, where he says:

"They involve a certain rude and noble faith that the Judge of all the earth will do right and the divine justice and human justice have a common measure. Lincoln never forgot that and he learned it on Pidgeon Creek."

John A. Breckenridge was a talented member of the family of that name which furnished great men and great orators to the west for a century. He lived in Warrick and Spencer counties at an early day. When the slavery struggle became acute he moved to Texas, where his son, George W. Breckenridge, died very recently, a very old man. See Lincoln's testimony to the inspiration of Breckenridge's court speeches in his early manhood. *Lincoln the Lawyer*, by Frederick T. Hill, 18. John Pitcher was one of the greatest trial lawyers in Indiana, educated, studied law in Connecticut, and came to Indiana about 1819. In his office at Rockport Lincoln studied law. I knew Judge Pitcher very well in his old age, yet active at the bar. The biographers of Lincoln spent too little time in gathering facts of Lincoln's early manhood life in Indiana at the proper time. Attention was paid to the stories of ignorant and illiterate braggarts, such as Dennis Hanks, and the life of early Indiana people was taken from the bottom instead of the top, where Lincoln found his visions. Breckenridge and Pitcher both lived until near the close of the century, without any attempt, so far as I know, to supply with their aid the missing chapter in Lincoln's life. Pitcher had northern ideas on slavery. He was one of the chosen and fit actors in the great drama staged in the wilderness of southern Indiana. Strong circumstantial evidence exists to show that the influences following the Missouri Compromise, which according to Charnwood so powerfully influenced Lincoln's whole life, were correctly interpreted to him by John Pitcher, whose life, when written, will, I believe, shine in the reflected light of the life and ideals of Abraham Lincoln.

¹¹⁹ *The Winning of the West*.

Blue River, Silver Creek, Patoka and Wabash, the last named extending into Illinois. Here John Shrader spent the greater part of his life in his work in the ministry, and, from the time of his location until the age of four score and seven years, when he died April 15, 1879, he retained his home near Poseyville in Posey county, Indiana, though at times he temporarily lived elsewhere as an active minister.

The last work John Shrader ever did was in his 87th year, to walk two miles from his house to collect quarterage for the support of the church to which he belonged. When he started to return, a friend said to him that if he would wait a short time he would have a chance to ride, but he answered that the distance was not far and he would walk. The distance, however, was too great for his strength, and coming up the hill near the end of his journey he fell and bruised his face; erysipelas set in and took his life.

The minister who preached his funeral sermon, and who knew him well, said if John Shrader had any vices he did not know of them, and if there were any virtues which he did not have he did not know of them—a beautiful tribute to a beautiful character and a beautiful life.

In his dying hours he was delirious, so the doctors thought, but there came from his lips an audible, continuous, coherent prayer to God. He was in communion with his God. It was the passing of John Shrader from among mortals, to the ranks and the land of immortals.

In that prayer he might have said, as did Tennyson, when nearing his end, in his last prayer, while pleading with his God

I shall pass but shall not die.

If it were given to me, a mortal, to proclaim a vision, I would say, so it came to pass with John Shrader.

From the neighboring village of Poseyville, where in the old village churchyard his body lies today, in one of the garden spots of the earth, where the valley of the Patoka joins the valley of the Wabash, where he had reared his children and finished his great work—great for time and great for eternity—where he had lived to see the wilderness into which he had come in the vigor of his young manhood, from the southland,

before the birth of this commonwealth, in the twilight of our history, blossom into a Christian empire of between two and three million souls, the foundations of which were in part laid by him—one of God's commonwealth builders—there passed out into the spirit world, greeting its Maker ere it left its body, the soul of John Shrader.

The Approach To History

By LOGAN ESAREY

The hard plain highway to mathematics is by the multiplication table. A great deal of time has been wasted by teachers in vain attempts to find an easier road for children but sooner or later all such teachers have, together with their classes, been lost in the byways. They have been compelled to return to the hard straight, plain road. The every day mathematics to every-day children is addition, subtraction, multiplication and division and these processes must be learned. It can neither be avoided nor delayed.

The fundamental ideas of geography are land, water, climate, distance, direction, people and the products of all these singly and in conjunction. These lie all about us in our immediate presence. Teachers of geography have finally come to recognize that the only approach to their subject is through the immediate neighborhood to the world at large.

Teachers of biology have long ago quit requiring primary pupils to commit to memory the so-called laws of life and have begun by learning the concrete facts of life in the neighborhood. The plants, birds, insects, animals and their habits are the text books.

Language teachers have ceased to teach, as introductory language work, the abstract rules of grammar and composition and are using the ordinary speech of ordinary folks as used in their ordinary experiences.

In spite of the plain warnings from these sources history teachers in large numbers still cling to the old idea of beginning history teaching at and with the beginning of history. It would seem there is as much reason for beginning zoology with the first animal life on earth; botany, with the first plant life; or language, with the first efforts of the cave man to communicate his mind to others.

History deals with man in his struggles for freedom from the restraining circumstances of his environment. In this struggle many organizations or institutions have been developed. It is a mistake to assume that social life or institutions

were simpler in the beginning of history. The whole tendency of civilization is to simplify human life and its institutions, just as law and order are simpler than chance and violence. And even if early life were simpler the difficulty in procuring evidences of and the changed environment around early society would make it impracticable to begin history there. Only the most highly trained imaginations can realize the conditions of society in the remote ages. And if this were not reason enough the fact is that the early institutions were so entirely different from ours at present that a thorough knowledge of them would be of no more advantage to a citizen than a knowledge of the surgery of ancient Egypt would be in a modern clinic.

In Indiana we have not yet entirely discarded the culture epoch theory in our primary history. For years our children struggled with the imaginary problems of Kablu as he labored to develop Aryan institutions under the shadows of the Altai and Hindu Kush mountains; or attended imaginary popular assemblies with Wolf the Saxon in the swamps and shades of north Germany. For years all the preparation for citizenship in Indiana obtained in the primary schools of the state was obtained from the puerile stories of the Ten Boys or Ten Little Sisters. These books might, at least, have been written so as to acquaint the children with the language of history, but even this was neglected.

A variation of this culture epoch program consists in arranging the present people of the earth in a series according to their development in civilization and making the history course accordingly. Thus the first grade would begin with life in Aryan and Egyptian times, tent dwellers, shepherds, nomads, passing to the Phoenicians, Hottentots and Indians, thence in the middle or grammar grades to Medieval history and in the seventh and eighth grades to modern civilization. The redeeming feature of this scheme, it is said, is that the child is always studying that period of civilization which corresponds to his own nature.

Still another variation of this widespread culture epoch theory in history teaching is the dramatic or literary plan. These teachers assume that history is an epic or drama. Thus to the young child history becomes a fable or fairy story; to

the more advanced it becomes a heroic legend, or saga, to the still more advanced, an epic; to the highest grades it is drama, the drama of life. All this is very beautiful and is based on that favorite "bed-rock principle of pedagogy", natural interest. The only serious objection to it is it has no history in it. Other objections need hardly be considered. If a citizen's duties consisted principally in attending movies, theatres or opera this would be ideal preparation.

The culture-epoch theory of education it may be stated, in conclusion, rests on two assumptions. First, there is a uniform progress in civilization common to all people. Second this progress is from the simple to the complex. Both assumptions are unsupported by historical evidence and if they were as certain as the theory of gravitation two far more important pedagogical principles would be violated by the culture-epoch program. First, no conclusion of history should be presented to a class without its supporting evidence. There is no supporting evidence for the culture-epoch theory. Second, education in general proceeds from the known to the related unknown. History is read and understood, if it is understood, through the "here" and the "now".

A second approach to history, almost as widespread as the culture-epoch and equally vicious, is the heroic. This theory of history is upheld by Rousseau, Carlyle and Emerson among others. Briefly stated it assumes that history is the biography of heroes. Great forward movements are the socialization of the thoughts of a single man and are established by the efforts of some far-seeing individual. The masses are to institutions only what brick and mortar are to a building—mere unthinking passive material. The idea permeates and vitiates history writing as well as history teaching.

We have the history of England in *Heroes of English History*; of America, in *Heroes of American History*; of Germany in *Heroes of German History* and so of Greece, Rome, Spain, Jewry and the world. Three principal considerations support this theory.

First is the ethical. The biographies are chosen for their moral content. It is the intention that the mind and conduct of the pupils shall be moulded by the thoughts and conduct of the hero studied. Here begin insuperable difficulties. No

hero fills the bill exactly. The hard choice must be met of teaching doubtful morals or of falsifying history. No hesitation has been shown to choose the latter as the lesser of the two evils. Beginning with Plutarch a long list of historians have idealized and moralized biography until it is rare indeed to find a sound biography. They have given us expurgated heroes from Adam to Roosevelt. The stuff has been washed out, softened, sweetened, and sugar-coated till red-blooded children even have turned away in disgust. On such a foundation no teacher can hope to build, later, an appreciation or understanding of history. Rousseau, who first insisted on biography as an approach to history, demanded for Emile a truthful biography. We need not stop here to inquire how valuable such teaching is for ethics. We need only note that these biographies are not written from sound evidence and hence can have no value for history.

A second argument for the hero in history is that he is an epitome of his times. Some biographies do come up to this definition—such as Morley's Life of Gladstone, Hay and Nicolay's Life of Lincoln, or Thayer's Life of Cavour, but there is no danger of these becoming texts in primary history. Such voluminous biographies are necessary to show the tremendous influences of the times on the man. To teach that the times have no influence on the man is to falsify history and no method which does not entirely recognize the integrity of its subject matter can be valid. In other words scholarship is a condition of both teacher and teaching which cannot be violated. To say that the American Revolution is but a biography of Washington, or of Washington, Franklin, Henry and any number of their companions is to neglect the evidence of history. Napoleon and Cromwell were successful so long only as they were supported by the people. Washington and Lincoln were more successful because they went no farther than the public opinion of their times would support. In other words every leader, except perhaps a few military captains, is to be tried by a jury of his peers rather than worshiped by a choir of servants. The method moreover is dangerous in a democracy. It leads to a belief in the mythical super-man of which we have entirely too much in the United States at present. A nation of people which accepts its

leaders' statements without the proof to support them is worthy of a despot and will soon have him. The chief secondary aim of history, the training of independent, self-reliant judgment, is not only neglected by hero history but is violated. Quite recently such heroes as John Jacob Astor, Vanderbilt, Rockefeller and Carnegie have been set up as models of thrift in Indiana. This is hero-worship gone mad and if it were not so dangerous would be ridiculous. The German school children were fed for generations on hero stories until a distorted patriotism led them to view their leaders and German Culture with veneration if not worship. The late disaster in Europe is traceable directly to vicious historians and history teaching. It is hardly necessary to point out that German methods have obtained a powerful foothold in our schools.

The third argument for the hero or biographical approach is that biography is simpler than history and therefore more easily understood. The last part of this statement goes back for its justification to the old and pervasive fundamental of Rousseauistic pedagogy that children should be taught what they prefer or what they like. This is said to be the natural method. In spite of much that is said to the contrary it seems best to preserve the school for work. Work does not follow lines of least resistance. It goes over and through obstacles rather than around them. History requires work just as arithmetic, grammar, or spelling. It takes mental exertion to comprehend a problem in arithmetic, a rule of grammar or the Battle of Bunker Hill. No amount of play, which follows lines of inclination or least resistance, will ever acquire this or any other knowledge worth while. There is no accomplishment to the children or promise to the teacher in this recreation pedagogy.

The claim of simplicity is a valid claim if true. It is worth while to approach any problem in teaching at its simplest point. Admitting this however is not admitting the proposition that an individual is more easily understood than an event or even an institution. Biography is exactly the storm center of history. Cause and effect are large factors in events. Few children of the age of twelve but will follow step by step from evidence to event and from event to event up to the outbreak of the Revolution, but how many will

understand why the wealthy, aristocratic Washington should have been its leader? One can understand Samuel Adams or John Hancock, whose business was interfered with, more easily. One can appreciate why the theoretical, impulsive young Jefferson should sit on the committee that wrote the Declaration but how about the aged, prosperous, happy, respected, practical, prudent, Franklin? A more plausible reason for the biography seems to be that the hero furnishes a thread or unity to the action hard to attain otherwise. A human being is certainly more concrete and comprehensible than an abstract idea but to substitute Washington for patriotism, David for religion or Lincoln for justice is of doubtful efficacy and may lead to a reaction or a backslide later in life which will more than undo all that has been accomplished.

Still another large number of teachers use children's histories. Some of the texts were extremely simplified by being written in words of one syllable. The game is mere byplay. A thought cannot be simplified any more than a proposition in Euclid by being stated in simple language. Every writer of history, deserving the name, tells his story in the simplest, clearest manner. No two authors write with equal force and clearness. The text which excels in these qualities, both being equally trustworthy, is of course the best; but the child-language text is a farce.

One of the chief purposes in primary history is to acquaint children with the language of history, in fact when this acquaintance is complete the work of primary history is complete.

We may then dismiss the idea of adulterating or diluting history to make it easier for the earlier grades. Some events of the Revolution may be singled out and taught because they lead immediately to concrete results, but it is not necessary to use in the teaching anything but the authentic evidence of history; it is not necessary to teach anything which later will be found useless or have to be repudiated. The Boston Tea Party is a simple event, easily led up to and easily understood; but to connect that with the Vigilantes in San Francisco eighty years later is far more difficult. There is no lack of such concrete material in history, entirely authentic which when

learned will never have to be repudiated as a childish story learned in the grades.

Just here, however, is the grave error in most history teaching and the beginning of the downfall of most history students. How many teachers can picture in their minds the scene in old Boston on the night of December 16, 1773? To the ordinary sixth grade pupil in Indiana practically every element in the picture is strange. Nor is there any means at hand by which the teacher can make it real—the old city, the streets, the costumes, the ship, the wharf. Come to think about it, how much preparation would be required to teach so simple an event? Evidently the approach to history must begin nearer home and nearer now.

Perhaps some member of the class—and this might be done in any of the early grammar grades—has attended a woman's club, some boy has had personal experience of a farmers' meeting or a political meeting; another may know about the nearest church, a brick yard, a tobacco field, a cotton field, a factory, a political convention, a camp-meeting, a hospital or one of the hundreds of events, customs, associations, businesses, buildings, offices or institutions that make up the neighborhood society. If all this is learned in a year good progress will have been made.

The next step involves a considerable power of imagination and accordingly as it is well done will the capacity and appreciation for history be developed. From the immediate society of the neighborhood the second step should take the class to events which they cannot observe, either remote in time or place, or both. The less remote usually the easier will be the problem. Society in Indiana at the time of the Civil war furnishes an excellent field for this training. It should be kept in mind that the principal purpose is to learn how to study history at the same time keeping in mind that what is learned is valuable and reliable. Indiana in 1860 was in the homespun age. The typical farm home, a double log house or red brick, contained a loom, spinning wheel and reel; there were also the fireplace, the big, high beds, the trundle-bed, perhaps a fireplace in the kitchen fitted up with cranes, hooks and pans for cooking; in the spring house were the milk and butter, the apples, potatoes and turnips were in the

cellar or holed up in the ground (if it were winter). In the barn and barnyard were horses, oxen, cattle, hogs, sheep, geese, chickens of all breeds and appearances. A class of farm children could spend a month profitably studying the farm stock as described in the old Indiana Agricultural reports, comparing them with the stock on the farm at present. In the barn might be found a scythe, a cradle, a cycle, a breaking plow most probably with a wooden mould-board, a jumping shovel, hoes, hand rakes, a wagon and perhaps a carriage. In the fields, orchard and garden almost everything used for feed, food, or clothing will be growing. From the old ash hopper comes the lye for soapmaking and there sits the big 40 gallon iron kettle "for soap, sap or soup" as a writer of the times observes. There are the sheep from whose backs come the wool for clothing; there are the hogs to be butchered along near Christmastime and meat put up for the year; there in the smoke house is the box of dirt where the fire is made to smoke the hams and middlings hanging on hickory hooks fastened to the joists above; yonder is the grove where the sugar is made in early spring. When the flour and meal are all gone you might make an imaginary trip to the old water mill, meet dozens of farmers from all parts of the county, wait your turn till your grist is ground. About once a year, usually in the fall, all the marketable produce on the farm was loaded into the farm wagon and a trip was made to the nearest city to trade. Sometimes this trip consumed a week. All the fine things in the stores were seen and some of them bought—perhaps a cook-stove, an organ or a sewing machine. Still more important would be making a flat-boat, loading it, and running it down to New Orleans. The old fashioned home life of the fifties and sixties was rich in picturesque historical material. There was a whole round of social gatherings—the log rolling, quilting, singing school, spelling match, barbecue, debate, camp-meeting and literary.

In the city the change has been equally great. The city of the fifties had no street, no sewer, no police, no street lights, no street cars, but there were taverns, lyceums, theaters, churches, stores and some fine houses. Its life was not nearly so rich as that of the farm. To these might be added a visit

to the old district school, to the old fashioned court, to the legislature and other institutions of the time.

No attempt need be made here to complete the outline. From society in the fifties in Indiana one might pass to the old plantation south, to colonial New England, to Indian life, to hunters, trappers, to the soldiers of the Civil War, to the Mexican War, to the Revolution. These are the elements of history. Once a child has learned the meaning of these terms and how to picture them from the printed page it is ready to take up the systematic study of history. If the training has been successful there will be no need nor thought of memorizing words or dates in history any more than there is in mathematics or science. It is a question of understanding. Words fade away into the pictures they are intended for. The drudgery of history disappears but work, absorbing work, in plenty remains.

The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 In Indiana

By CHARLES H. MONEY, A.M.

When the constitution was being formulated by the convention at Philadelphia in 1787, one of the problems that came up for solution was the reclamation of fugitives. Among all the colonies it had become a custom, or rather a matter of inter-colonial comity, if a slave ran away from his master into another state or a fugitive was fleeing from justice he should be returned to the state from which he fled. Thus, the custom had grown up among the colonies before the Revolutionary war and still continued to be their custom in reclaiming chattel property or bringing about justice. In the constitutional convention all the states seemed to agree on the subject of slavery except North and South Carolina and Georgia. At this time these states deemed slavery necessary to their prosperity. To make sure that they would not lose their slaves, by their running away, they forced into the constitution the provision for a general fugitive slave law. Another clause provided for fugitives from justice. The clause relative to service is as follows: "No person held to service or labor in one state under the laws thereof escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

This clause was carried out by an act of congress passed February 12, 1793, and signed by President Washington. It was our first fugitive slave law, and remained a part of our law for fifty-seven years. The first part of the act had to do with fugitives from justice. The last part was concerned with run-away slaves. The part relating to criminals merely specified the manner in which demands were to be made upon governors for their extradition, and left it entirely within the discretion of the governors as to whether they would comply with the demands. That relating to "fugitives from service" was more explicit, and provided that any one apprehending such a fugitive should take him before a United States judge or before a magistrate of any county, city, or town, make proof of his character as property, and receive from the judge

or magistrate a certificate authorizing him to remove the fugitive to the state whence he had fled. Along in 1815 the increased value of negroes caused many complaints to be made of kidnapping free negroes to be sold south. On the other hand, the border states complained that their property was being enticed away from them into free states.

The objection was raised in the north to the act of 1793 that it imposed duties upon state magistrates which did not belong to them, and Pennsylvania passed a law carefully regulating the manner in which alleged fugitives were to be tried and remanded. The Prigg case came into the courts as a result of this act which was passed by Pennsylvania in 1826. Prigg was the agent of Margaret Ashmore, a citizen of Maryland, owner of a negro woman who had escaped into Pennsylvania. Under warrant from a magistrate of Pennsylvania, Prigg had caused the woman to be apprehended, but he was unable to persuade the local authority, before whom she was brought, to take further notice of the case. Prigg then carried the woman and her children *vi et armis* out of Pennsylvania and delivered them to their owner. Prigg was later indicted for felony under the Pennsylvania law. Judgment in the lower court against him was reaffirmed in the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in 1842. By a writ of error the case was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, and, in an opinion rendered by Justice Story, the Pennsylvania law was held to be unconstitutional, but it was also held that congress could not impose such duties on state officials. Chief Justice Taney rendered a dissenting opinion, holding that the master had the right to seize his property anywhere, that such was part of the organic law of the nation and state officials were bound to execute it the same as other laws. The doubts expressed by the majority of the United States supreme court as to the duties of state officials caused the passage of personal liberty laws in many of the northern states. By these laws state officials were forbidden to assist in reclaiming alleged runaway slaves. The passage and enforcement of these laws in the north gave men in the slave states an opportunity to demand the enactment of a more rigid fugitive slave law. It was perfectly evident that the northern states could no longer be depended upon for the enforcement of the old law of 1793.

It is necessary at this point to see what the provisions of the fugitive slave law of 1850 were, that caused such profound excitement in Indiana, and what action was taken by her representatives on this subject.

In the first place the law provided that United States Commissioners should have the powers which had previously been held by local judges in the act of 1793. It was incumbent upon the judges of the district courts of the United States and the judges of the superior courts of the United States territories to appoint from among the several persons who may for the time being hold office under the government of the United States any number of commissioners not exceeding three in each county within their respective districts and territories of the United States and to require such commissioners to administer all necessary oaths, to examine witnesses and to hear and determine cases under the fugitive clause of the constitution and this act, concurrent with the jurisdiction of the judges of the circuit and district courts of the United States. They had the powers to grant certificates to claimants upon satisfactory proof, and authority to have said fugitive removed to the state or territory from which he came.

Section two provided that the United States marshals and deputy marshals were to execute all warrants issued. To enable the commissioners to conduct business expeditiously they had the power to appoint one or more persons from time to time to aid them in executing their warrants. If a marshal or deputy marshal refused to receive such warrant or process or diligently execute the same, he should be fined \$1,000 to be used by the claimant. Should a marshal or deputy let a fugitive escape from his custody "with or without assent," he would become liable to prosecution by the claimant for the full value of labor or service of the fugitive in the state, territory or district whence he escaped. If it were necessary marshals could summon and call to their aid the by-standers, or *posse comitatus* of that county "and all good citizens are hereby commanded to aid and assist in the prompt and efficient execution of this law."

Section three provided that "the person or persons to whom such service or labor may be due, or his, her or their agent or attorney" by the power of attorney in writing acknowledged

and certified under seal of some legal officer or court of the state or territory in which the same may be executed, may pursue and reclaim the fugitive either by procuring a warrant from the proper circuit, district, or county court for the arrest of the fugitive or by directly seizing the fugitive, taking him before such court, judge or commissioner whose duty it is to hear and determine the case, "in a summary manner," and on satisfactory proof being made of the identity of the fugitive and the services due, the fugitive should then be returned to the state or territory whence he escaped. The testimony of the fugitive was not to be admitted in evidence but the certificate mentioned was to be conclusive against him, and was to prevent all molestation by any process issued by any court, judge, magistrate, or other person whomsoever.

Section four provided that "any person who shall knowingly and willingly obstruct, hinder or prevent such claimant or his agent from arresting such fugitive or shall rescue, or attempt to rescue such fugitive from service or labor when so arrested, or shall aid, abet or assist such person so owing service or labor to escape from the claimant or shall harbor or conceal such fugitive, so as to prevent the discovery and arrest of such person, after notice or knowledge of the fact that such person was a fugitive from service or labor, shall for either of said offenses, be subject to a fine not exceeding \$1,000 and imprisonment not exceeding six months. Further he shall pay by way of civil damages to the injured party the sum of \$1,000, to be recovered by action of debt in any district or territorial court aforesaid where the offense was committed."

The last section provided that on affidavit of the claimant that he was fearful of a rescue, the officer capturing the fugitive was authorized to employ as many persons as might be necessary to convey such slave to the place whence he fled, all expenses thereof to be paid out of the United States treasury.

Marshals, deputy marshals and clerks were paid for services the like fees as may be allowed to them for similar services in other cases. Where there was a direct arrest or where the case failed for want of sufficient proof, then fees were to be paid by claimant. In all cases before a commissioner, the commissioner was to receive \$10 when the certificate was

granted, \$5 when the evidence was insufficient for issuance of certificate, the fees to be paid by the claimant in each instance.

The law also provided that any claimant, by affidavit before any court of record in his own state or territory, might obtain a record with a general description of the fugitive, and an authenticated copy of such record was to be conclusive evidence, on proof of the identity of the fugitive, for issuing a certificate in any state or territory to which the slave had fled.²

It is evident that the provisions of the bill were ironclad. Its execution fell to the lot of the federal government and to federal officials instead of the various states. A rigorous enforcement it was believed would break up the habit of slaves running away from their masters. In its provisions, it fully met the approval of the south which had been complaining about the nullification of the act of 1793 by the different state enactments of the personal liberty laws. Now they had a law with the whole federal government back of it and they were fully assured of its execution in all northern states. They were fully assured by the president, Mr. Fillmore, that its provisions would be promptly and fully executed at all hazards as long as he was the chief executive of the country. So far as history records, no one doubts the truth of the president's statements on the subject. He had been so determined about its execution that in reply to an ex-senator's query about the law being enforced he had said: "To the very letter, sir, to the very letter." Later he declared for its execution even at the risk of blood. It might be worth noting that the signing of this obnoxious bill by Mr. Fillmore and its subsequent execution brought him upon the rocks and reefs of his political career.

The fugitive law of 1850 originated in the senate. By a resolution of Mr. Foote amended by Mr. Mangum, a committee of thirteen were chosen to submit a compromise bill on the subject of slavery in the Mexican cession, the slave trade in the District of Columbia, the admission of California and the fugitive slave question. This committee was chosen by ballot of the senate. Its membership included Mr. Clay, who was chairman, Messrs. Bell, Berrien, Bright, Cass, Cooper, Dickinson, Downs, King, Mason, Mangum, Phelps and Webster. The

² *Congressional Globe*, 31st Congress, 1st Session, Senate, 1582.

personnel of the committee discloses the fact that one of Indiana's senators served on the grand committee which brought forth the bill. Jesse D. Bright was the senior senator from Indiana at the time the bill became a law and was a member of the committee of thirteen. Our junior senator at this time was ex-Governor James Whitcomb.

Mr. Bright was not a native of Indiana. He was born in Norwich, New York, in 1812 and removed to Indiana with his parents while still a small boy, settling at Madison, Jefferson county. He was not a learned man on any point, and his education on all points was deficient, but he was possessed of a strong way of putting his case before the people that made him an effective campaigner. He possessed a strong will and in political matters he was always prompt, quick to decide and quick to act. He was a thoroughgoing politician and soon built up, for himself, a strong political machine, which kept him in the senate until his expulsion in 1862. On every slavery question that came before the senate he always took the most extreme southern view. In the election of 1860 he strongly opposed Douglas and declared himself for Breckinridge. After his expulsion from the senate for treason he asked the Indiana legislature to re-elect him for the remaining forty or fifty days, but it refused. This defeat in 1863 he laid at the door of Thomas A. Hendricks. He was much embittered by this defeat and never engaged in politics again. He was the owner of extensive tracts of land in Kentucky and a large number of slaves. In 1874, he left the state of Indiana, removing to Baltimore, Maryland, where he died, May 20, 1875. Bright lacked much of being a great man, but he was a remarkable party leader and politician.

With such an attitude towards slavery as Mr. Bright expressed in his thought and action, no one has reason to wonder at his thorough agreement with Senator Mason of Virginia, the author of the fugitive slave bill of 1850. No one can doubt where he stood on the subject. He was strongly pro-slavery and agreed with every section of the bill. It did happen that on the day of its final passage he did not vote. The reason for his absence from the senate chamber on the day the vote was taken is disclosed a little later in a controversy that took place on this point between the *Statesman*

and the Madison *Courier*, two newspapers of Madison. The *Statesman* had made it appear that Bright had been attacked by a bit of political nervousness, for it said:

Was not his country bleeding at every pore—and was not the oil of consolation just getting ready to be applied—and was it not becoming a representative of the Democracy of Indiana to stand firm at the post of duty? Dare the *Courier* defend this dodging? Come, Mr. *Courier*, enlighten us. Tell us—do—why Jesse dodged the vote?³

To this the *Courier* replied:

If the *Statesman* wants further proof, we refer it to one or two prominent Whigs in the neighborhood of its co-laborer, the Evansville *Journal*, who were in Washington at the time, endeavoring to get a mail line established by the postoffice department, from Evansville to Louisville and all along the shore.⁴

All this controversy came a few days before the re-election of Mr. Bright to the senate. While the motive was political it does probably show the reason for his absence as well as what he said himself of the occurrence about nine months' later. The reason for his explanation came upon a motion of Senator Sumner to amend the allowance authorized in the fugitive slave law for the expenses incurred in executing the act for the surrender of fugitives from service. At this time he said:

Mr. President, I did not vote for the fugitive slave law on the question of its final passage, for the reason I was not in my place at the time the vote was taken. I was accidentally absent. Had I been here it is well understood I would have voted for it. I was honored with a place on the committee of thirteen, which formed and reported the compromise measures.⁵

A little later, in speaking of the bill, he said:

If I felt that it was incumbent on me to find a justification for my support of the "fugitive slave law" I would, as the senator from Illinois has done, point to the constitution which forms this confederacy, and say that having taken an oath to support it, so long as I remain a law maker under it, I shall ever hold myself ready and willing to aid in the enactment of all laws having for their object the aid necessary to carry into effect every one of its provisions.

³ *Statesman*, Jan. 1, '51.

⁴ *Madison Courier*, Jan., 51.

⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 32d Cong., 1st Session, 1123.

In the same speech he declared against all "agitators," against those disturbers of the compromise measures, against "that class of politicians who cry repeal and set up the 'higher law' as their rule of action." He declared himself "supported by at least nine-tenths of the voters of Indiana." Indiana voters "unite in repudiating disunionists south and abolitionists north."

Indiana's junior senator in 1850 was ex-Governor James Whitcomb. Mr. Whitcomb was not a native of Indiana, having been born in the Green Mountain state near Winsor, December 1, 1795. Senator Whitcomb contrasted with Mr. Bright in nearly every point. He was several years older than his colleague, had been a careful student all his life, was a graduate of Transylvania University, of Lexington, Kentucky, was a good lawyer and was one of the most popular leaders of the democratic party in the state of his adoption. He located first at Bloomington, Indiana, in 1824 following his chosen profession of law. In 1841, upon his return from Washington, where he had been commissioner of the general land office, he again began the practice of law locating at Terre Haute, Indiana. During the Mexican war he was Indiana's governor, filling that position with dignity and honor. In December, 1848, he was elected to the United States senate as a successor of Edward A. Hannegan. He did not have an opportunity to display his ability in that body because his health was broken and he was forced to absent himself frequently from its sessions. He also found Mr. Bright strongly intrenched with his colleagues and with the administration. They were too dissimilar in character or political methods to have much in common, and as Senator Bright was a man who never brooked opposition or interference, Mr. Whitcomb found himself with but little influence. This disappointment aggravated, no doubt, his disease and he died before serving out half his term. His death occurred at New York, October 4, 1852.

In the senate, as has been said, Mr. Whitcomb was absent quite a bit of the time while the fugitive slave bill was on passage. In the course of an explanation as to why the bill had not been called up Mr. Whitcomb said:

It is but due to myself to say, as may be already inferred, that I did not approve of all the features of the bill in the shape in which it was

introduced, but I certainly was ready and I yet am ready to vote for it whenever it shall be brought forward in a suitable shape, to carry out, in good faith and perfect fairness, the plain provisions of the constitution upon the subject.

Later he said:

And, I will add, such is my confidence in the patriotism of the people and their deep and abiding love of the union, that I have no doubt, whenever a bill of the kind referred to becomes a law, it will yet commend itself to the cheerful acquiescence and support of the great majority of the people of both the north and of the south.⁶

These are not the words of a strong pro-slavery man, but rather of a man who is seeking reconciliation and harmony in the nation. He was not ready and willing to vote for the measure as it was first formulated, not because it was protecting slavery, but because it would give the south a fair deal in the fulfillment of the plain provisions of the constitution on the subject of a fugitive from service. He would vote for it merely as an expediency and a necessity, not because he felt sympathy with the institution of slavery. Mr. Bright would vote for it because he was a slave owner and believed with the slave holders of the south. Both Indiana senators were for the bill, but for different reasons. Both senators failed to vote for the bill, one because his health was bad and the other because he was engaged in the establishment of a post route along the Ohio river.

In 1850, Indiana had ten representatives in the lower house, eight democrats and two whigs. The First district was represented by Mr. Albertson, a democrat; the second by C. L. Dunham, a democrat; the Third by J. L. Robinson, a democrat; the Fourth by G. W. Julian, a democrat; the Fifth by W. J. Brown, a democrat; the Sixth by W. A. Gorman, a democrat; the Seventh by Ed. W. McGaughey, a whig; the Eighth by Joseph E. McDonald, a democrat; the Ninth by Graham N. Fitch, a democrat; the Tenth by Mr. Harlan, a democrat.⁷ Nothing was said by any of these gentlemen while the bill was passing the lower house, because the previous question was moved by Mr. Thompson of Pennsylvania, cutting off all de-

⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Sess., 31 Cong., 1574.

⁷ *Indiana Statesman*, Sept. 25, '50.

bate. When it came to a vote, six representatives voted for the bill and four opposed. Those who voted aye were, Albertson, Brown, Durham, Gorman, McDonald and McGaughey. Those who voted nay were, Fitch, Harlan, Julian and Robinson. It will be observed that those voting for the bill were five democrats and one whig. Those voting against it were four democrats. In this way did the representatives put themselves upon record. By the time of the next congressional election in '51 a very strong reaction had set in, and many representatives were made to suffer for their vote. Mr. Albertson was not renominated from the First district, but in his place the democrats nominated James Lockhart, who defeated L. Q. DeBrueler, a whig. In the Second district Mr. Durham was renominated and re-elected by a large majority. J. L. Robinson was re-elected from the Third by a reduced majority. G. W. Julian voted against the bill and was defeated by Samuel W. Parker, a whig, whom Julian had defeated two years before by securing the votes of Free Soilers, independent democrats and anti-slave whigs. W. J. Brown was set aside in the Fifth by the democrats for Thomas A. Hendricks who defeated W. P. Rush. In the Sixth, the democrats renominated and returned W. A. Gorman over Eli P. Farmer. In the Seventh Edward W. McGaughey was defeated by J. G. Davis. McGaughey was defeated largely because of his vote on the fugitive slave bill. He made as able a campaign as possible, but many whigs could not vote for him because of his stand on the question. McDonald of the Eighth had voted for the slave law and his party would not renominate him for congress. They cast him aside for Daniel Mace, who defeated D. Brier in a close election. G. N. Fitch of Logansport, had voted against the bill and was renominated and re-elected over Schuyler Colfax. Mr. Harlan of the Tenth was not again nominated. The democrats nominated J. W. Borden, who defeated S. Brenton, a whig, by a narrow margin.

It will be observed that the people had begun to take up the subject so early as the next congressional election and had cudgeled some of the candidates quite lively over their stand on the slave law. With all the talk of *finality*, which senators and representatives used up and down the land, there was a growing minority which would not keep still, nor live at

peace with the law which had been enacted. They did not have political power enough yet to obtain their desire, but in many instances they brought about the defeat of candidates who participated in the enactment of the law of 1850. The majority of people throughout the north accepted the law, not through love for its principles but because of their love for the union. In this movement Indiana was no exception.

At this point let the popular feeling then existing in the state be expressed through their newspapers and local meetings. Evidences of harmony will first be portrayed and this will be indicative of the will of the majority of the people of the state at that time.

The best type of union resolutions, were those adopted at a meeting held at Greencastle, Indiana (Putnam County) in which such whigs as R. N. Allen, A. Johnson, Higgins Lane and A. D. Hamrich united with such democrats as D. E. Eckles, Judge Duckworth, J. F. Farley and W. Q. Allen, in supporting the compromise measure. The resolutions are so expressive of union sentiment of the day that they are copied *verbatim* as follows:

Resolved, That it was with pain we witnessed the fearful agitations through which we have just passed. For ten months the national legislature was almost suspended, the wheels of government became nearly motionless, crimination and recrimination was indulged in by fanatics of the north and hurled back by disunionists of the south goading each other on to madness, until the cry of disunion and treason disgraced the halls of the capitol, and the wisest, the best and the boldest of our patriots were made to fear for the safety of the union. In these agitations we have taken part with neither the abolitionists of the north or the disunionists of the south, but steadily regarding the perpetuation of our unparalleled system of government and looking to the rights of man and the protection due every section of the union in the full enjoyment of every guaranty of the constitution of the United States as the surest and safest mode of securing to ourselves and our posterity, the blessing of civil and religious liberty, and as patriots we hail with just pride and rejoicing the system of compromise measures passed at the late session of congress and approved by the president of the United States, and we declare our intention to the utmost, to maintain the same "whole and entire" and do not, and will not, countenance the bad faith manifesting itself in various parts of the northern states to maintain only so much of the system of compromise measures as suits the prejudices of the north only, and war against that portion intended as a protection to the south against negro stealing citizens of the north.

Resolved, That we regard all sectional agitation as prejudicial to our interest and dangerous to the perpetuation of our free institutions and we therefore appeal to the north as well as to the south to respect the prejudices and feelings of each and cultivate feelings of mutual forbearance and respect for the interests and rights of all, and to abandon now and forever all agitation and interference by the citizens of one state with the institutions of another and hush the cry of disunion and the thought of treason from the halls of congress.

Lastly Resolved, That we have not permitted nor countenanced the abduction of slaves from slave states and will not countenance negro stealing any sooner than horse stealing.⁸

An editorial appeared in the *Sentinel* about this time written by W. J. Brown, then a member of congress and who had voted for the "peace bill" as he called it. The union sentiment is shown in the following quotation from his paper:⁹

The passage of this measure at the late session of congress by the aid of northern votes and its approval by a president from the north, contradicts the assertion so often made by the southern statesman that an attack is contemplated in the free states upon their peculiar institutions. It affords another evidence which ought to be peculiarly gratifying to all. That is the fidelity and attachment of the northern people to the constitution under which they live. Nothing is more difficult than to enforce a law which violates public opinion. That all the prejudices of the north are against slavery and in favor of universal freedom is not to be denied. Here is a law, the effect of which is to close our doors against the fugitive slaves, enforced without difficulty. Its operation so far has been most efficient. Under its provisions the long secreted fugitive is returned to his owner and the free man protected from the iron grasp of the man stealer. The south should know that nothing but the most ardent desire to sustain the letter and spirit of the constitution could have induced the north to acquiesce in this measure. The practical operations of the bill referred to give ample proof that our people are ready to sacrifice everything upon the altar of our constitutional obligations. There are, it is true, among us men who would disregard the law and the constitution, and for an excuse seek some "higher law." By that "higher law" we are all bound. It was dictated by a wisdom above the wisdom of man. But we contend that in the constitution there is nothing that does not comport with the precepts of the Bible. The patriots that framed it, through the ministers of God, invoked the aid of Heaven. It is a most perfect instrument and we can not break a part of it without destroying the whole. So long as it stands the country will prosper. When it is destroyed, the nation is gone.

⁸ *Indiana State Sentinel*, Oct. 12, 1850.

⁹ *Ibid.* 8.

A little later we find Mr. Brown still advocating harmony, for he says:

Let meetings be held, and societies be organized. Let all good men sustain the president and his cabinet in their effort to breast the storm of fanaticism. When breakers are lashing against the vessel, let us not inquire, what are the politics of the pilot, but let the inquiry be, does he manage the helm with skill and judgment? Let us not quarrel about the seats at the feast when the house is in flames. We have conquered all other nations that we have battled with. Let us now conquer ourselves. Adhere to the compromise of the constitution. Preserve the union and a glorious destiny awaits us as a nation. The honest people must act and act effectively.¹⁰

From the northern part of the state, union sentiment is expressed in one of the Logansport papers. Commenting upon the opposition to the slave law it says:

The newspapers of the abolition stripe have endorsed resolutions and the cry now is "Let slip the dogs of war." This is all wrong—wrong from beginning to end and an hour of cooler reflection will tell these extremists so. If it is a bill of evils and outrages, what is the remedy? Certainly not forcible resistance. Our object is not a defense of the fugitive slave law, for in many of its provisions it is unjust. But, we are utterly opposed to anything that looks at a violation of law.¹¹

From a Terre Haute paper the following tenor is expressed:

It is evident now, that the sober second thoughts of the people will sustain the law, as well as those who were instrumental in its passage. The law itself probably does no more than was designed by the act of 1793 and which has been so long in force without incurring such strong attempts at repudiation, both designing and only intending to provide the means for securing the rights of a master to his fugitive slave.

But there is another point of view in which this law is entitled to the respect of the community, brought forth with a view to the settlement of exciting difficulties long prevailing in our country. Difficulties which seemed to threaten, not only the harmony of the people, but the perpetuity of the union. Something must be conceded to the necessities of the times. It was thought by many better to have peace and save the union. It is possible that some of the provisions of the fugitive slave law may seem very stringent. But something had to be yielded, as well as something obtained.¹²

¹⁰ *Indiana State Sentinel*, Nov. 12, 1850.

¹¹ *Logansport Pharos*, Nov. 6, 1850.

¹² *Wabash Courier*, Nov. 16, 1850.

From southern Indiana came this expression from a union Whig paper:

We believe that the agitation of these questions at this time before their wisdom is fairly tested, can result in nothing but evil, and that continually. And so believing, we cannot regard it as the part of wisdom or patriotism to be continually agitating the public mind in regard to them.

The slave law may be radically wrong in principle, and justly obnoxious to public reprobation, and we do not say it is not, but so long as it has a place on the statute book, so long as it is the law of the land, it should be recognized as of binding force by all good citizens, and to counsel resistance to its operations, or incite to individual and organized opposition is hurtful in the extreme, tending only to anarchy and revolution.¹³

One of the leading Indianapolis papers commented thus:

We desire that the agitation of the question should cease—that the law should be given a fair trial and if it only secures the object of the constitution without unjust requirements at the hands of the people of the free states, then let it remain as it is. But we tell those who are now so severe in their denunciations of its opponents that there will be agitation so long as they continue their course.¹⁴

From these reports from various parts of the state it is seen that both the leading political parties desired the compromise to be a final one, and the leaders as well as the papers were preaching the *finality* doctrine. They wanted to get rid of the vexations question by saying as little about it as possible. To the majority of people in Indiana this seemed reasonable. As time went on such sentiment seemed to be gaining everywhere. The majority of the papers were expressing the hope that this would settle the whole trouble.

From nearly every portion of the state protests were heard against the law, from a few democratic and whig newspapers. When the law was passed, some of these papers flew into a passion and said things that were purely abolitionist and rebellious, but when the sober second thought came most of them refrained from their former bitterness, though they yet opposed the law. In the meantime they would not impede or oppose its execution openly, but would do what they could

¹³ *Madison Tribune*, April 19, 1851.

¹⁴ *Indiana State Journal*, May 10, 1851.

to draw its fangs by getting it amended, or if possible repealed. As time passed their statements gradually became more moderate.

It will be well at this point to see what the feeling was over the state, in opposition to the law as expressed by some of the papers.

A paper at Richmond, Indiana paid its respects to the law in the following language:

The claimant or agent is to be *prima facie* evidence of the truth of his claim and the interested party on the other side is not to be heard. What mockery of justice! of common sense! of law! Why not issue a license to kidnappers, authorizing them to enter any of the free states and take into slavery any man with a colored skin! Such a course would create a revenue to the government, but under this bill a monopoly is offered to desperadoes who are infamous enough to engage in the business.¹⁵

Later the same paper changed its tone somewhat, but was still opposed to the law. On November 20, 1850, it said:

We are not apologist or defender of the fugitive law. Had we been a member of congress, we would have voted against it, and as a private citizen we shall do what we can to secure its repeal.

Again, on December 3, 1850, it said:

We are opposed to the law because we doubt the constitutionality of some of its provisions—because it offers a bribe to the officers to convict the accused—because it permits *ex parte* testimony to be given against the alleged fugitive—for these and other reasons it should be repealed.

From Franklin, Indiana, we hear denunciation proclaimed in the following language:

We positively object to the third section of this bill. And we should like to know whether its supporters consider negroes human beings or not. If they are human beings at all, it is an infamous outrage to provide for the captivity of any now free merely upon the affidavit of any scoundrel that may swear the negro is his.¹⁶

Commenting on what the *Democrat* said an Indianapolis paper declared:

The *Democrat* is right—there are features in this bill which carry

¹⁵ The *Palladium*, Sept. 11, 1850.

¹⁶ *Franklin Democrat*, Sept. 15, 1850.

us back to the days of barbarism, when might made right, and which stamp it as a disgrace to the age. While we would in no possible manner, encourage the slave to abscond from his master, and while we would interpose no obstacle to that owner's recapturing the fugitive and carrying him back to his home, we deny the right of these deputy nigger catchers to summon a whole community and put them in chase of the unfortunate slave.

There was no necessity for the passage of such a law, so insulting to the common sense and humanity of the north, and our surprise is that any man, in whose veins courses the blood of a freeman, could be found to vote for it. The law of 1793 was abundantly sufficient for the recapture of fugitives, and there was at least some show of humanity about it.¹⁷

The most extreme view of the law is expressed through the columns of another Indianapolis paper of that day. The writer expresses himself in the following heated language:

This act presents a new feature in our institutions and sets in a new light the glory of this land of liberty. A more infamous enactment can nowhere be found among the statutes of any civilized people under Heaven. The old Spanish Catholics would feel themselves slandered under a charge of such an act, and had such a law been promulgated by any of the execrated tyrants of Europe, the press and the pulpit would loudly proclaim its abominations and political orators would have denounced it to deserved infamy.

I would, under these circumstances, advise county and township meetings, speeches and resolutions expressive of our abhorrence and detestation of the act, our fixed determination to resist its requirements —our attachment to the union and to the Ordinance of 1787 and our unmitigated hostility to our senators and representatives who voted for the bill of abominations, or dodged and screen their guilty heads from the wrath of an injured constituency.¹⁸

From the northern part of the state a Lafayette paper took a slap at the law in this wise:

There has never been placed upon our statute books a more atrocious act, and one more insulting to freedom than the slave catching law. This law forces the community to become the unwilling tools of kidnappers and slave catchers in their abhorrent work. Agitation has been commenced from all parts of the free state, from every man who values personal freedom, the demand is for repeal. Public sentiment will sweep over the land like a whirlwind, demanding its expurgation from our national statute book and woe be to him who attempts to breast the righteous storm. Public sentiment may sleep a long while under insidi-

¹⁷ *Indiana Statesman*, Sept. 25, 1850.

¹⁸ *Indiana True Democrat*, Oct. 18, 1850.

ous and covert attacks upon freedom, but an open and bold attack, like the one we are considering, will arouse it to vehement action.¹⁹

A newspaper in southern Indiana expressed its disgust with the law, by saying:

We don't, can't like it. It is repugnant to all the feelings of a man living in a free state. We know that the constitution provides and imperiously demands that a fugitive "shall be delivered upon claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." We know also that this fugitive slave law is very similar to the law of 1793, the great difference between them being in the new federal offices created under it and the new duty imposed upon the marshals and deputy marshals throughout the free states, thus making the federal government a vast slave catching machine instead of leaving the enforcement of the law, as heretofore, to the state officers. We don't like the law—probably never shall! We shall not, however, do anything by word or deed to nullify the law or prevent its being carried into force in Indiana. Like slavery, it is a blot upon our institutions and should be treated as we usually treat slavery, viz., have nothing to do with it.²⁰

There was a vital minority of free soilers and abolitionists who continually kept up an agitation, who would not down and who, as Garrison had formerly expressed it, "would be heard" in spite of all that might be said regarding *finality*. Slavery to them was odious. It was the blackest of sin. If a thing was wrong, it could not be made right by compromise. They saw no good in any compromise measure. They felt that the fugitive slave law made the free states the subservient underlings to the southern slave masters and their agents in perpetuating an institution they hated. The enactment of the new fugitive law added fuel to their fire. They were particularly vitriolic in their denunciations of the law and they gained many adherents to their cause at this time in the state, but the greater number of adherents were gained later, when the provisions of the law began to be enforced.

What did they have to say about the law and what vulnerable points did they find in it to attack? A few of their resolutions adopted at the time are now very interesting.

At Neal's creek in Jefferson county, Indiana, on the evening of November 15, 1850, a group of people of all political

¹⁹ *Lafayette Courier*, Oct. 17, 1850.

²⁰ *Madison Weekly Courier*, Oct. 30, 1850.

faiths of that community met, under the presidency of Samuel Tibbets, to express their ill will against the new slave law. After electing a secretary, the following resolutions were passed:

Resolved, That we deem it not only perfectly proper, but important, that we meet together and send forth our united voices in condemnation of this flagrant outrage upon the rights of the citizens and people of these United States.

Resolved, That we look upon this law as one of the most tyrannical and unjust enactments that ever disgraced the annals of any country, pagan or christian, and that we look upon the men who were instrumental in foisting it upon us as enemies of their race and utterly unworthy the confidence of a free people.

Resolved, That any law that deprives any human being of life, liberty, or property, without the right of trial by jury, and the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus*, is unconstitutional, unjust, oppressive and as such ought to be disregarded, choosing as Daniel of old said, to obey God rather than man.

Resolved, That we will not assist the bloodhounds of slavery to capture any of the oppressed and downtrodden sons and daughters of Africa, whom they claim as their property, and that we will "feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and shelter the stranger" as God commands, to the best of our abilities.

Resolved, That we look upon the man who accepts office under such a law, as a monster in human shape, an unprincipled wretch and wholly unworthy the countenance of a free people.²¹

Extracts from resolutions adopted by meetings in the eastern part of the state show the abolition tenor in its best style. At Washington, Indiana, the following was adopted:

Resolved, That it is the right and duty of every slave to seek to escape from slavery.

Resolved, That we hereby pledge ourselves before God and man to seek to prevent the execution of the recent fugitive slave law, which makes escape from slavery, and giving aid and comfort to those who are trying to escape, punishable as felony, by fines and imprisonment.

At a meeting at Alquina, Indiana, the following was voted:

Resolved, That we will not assist (if called upon) in capturing or securing a fugitive slave under this act, though the penalty for refusing deprive us of all our possessions, and incarcerate us between dungeon

Resolved, That cruel and ferocious despotism manifested by the pampered slaveholders towards the poor and defenseless slave, is only

²¹ *Madison Courier*, Dec. 4, 1850.

equalled in enormity and meanness by the truckling and dog-like servility of the northern doughface.²²

At Dublin, Indiana, resolutions of like kind were adopted, declaring that every slave had the inalienable right to freedom from slavery and that it was the intentions of those meeting to use every means to get the law repealed and to prevent, so far as possible, its enforcement.

The attitude of the abolitionist convention held at Centerville, Indiana, under the leadership of George W. Julian and C. F. Wright probably summarizes the whole abolition opposition in the most complete language possible. It might be said that a great many whigs in eastern Indiana were acting with the abolitionists at that time. The following resolutions were agreed upon:

Resolved, That the bloodhound fugitive slave bill recently enacted by congress outrages humanity, violates the plainest provisions of the constitution of the United States and is without a parallel in the legislation of any civilized people. It denies the writ of *habeas corpus*, it repudiates the trial by jury, it binds the officials created by it to enslave our citizens, it punishes by heavy fines and by imprisonment, the exercise of the plainest duties of morality and religion, it creates a whole army of officers, whose sole business is the hired service of slaveholders, it makes the people of the north slavecatchers and at the same time brings to the aid of the southern man-hunter the military power of non-slave holding states, it bargains the liberty of a freeman for the oath of any wretch who may swear that he is a slave. It does all this, whilst our citizens are thrown into southern prisons without cause, and sold into perpetual bondage for their jail fees in violation of the clearest principles of the federal constitution.

Resolved, Therefore, that whilst we desire no collision with the law in question, and do not intend rashly or violently to oppose the public authorities, and whilst we mean by all reasonable endeavor to labor for its repeal, we hereby declare our purpose in the meantime, to make it powerless in the country by our absolute refusal to obey its inhuman and diabolical provisions.²³

From the various newspapers and the resolutions adopted in the different meetings, a few points around which opposition hinged in regard to the law are discovered. In the first place the law denied the right to a trial by jury. This naturally was repugnant to any Hoosier who had the least bit of Anglo-

²² *Indiana State Sentinel*, Nov. 19, 1850.

²³ *Indiana State Sentinel*, Oct. 12, 1850.

Saxon principles in his character. To him this law treated the slave worse than pagan Rome treated hers, for the old Roman law gave the slave the benefit of the doubt, but here was a law on the American statute books in the nineteenth century which denied to the slave a means of any defense and denied to him the right to testify in his own behalf. It opposed the seventh amendment of the constitution which guaranteed the right of trial by jury "when the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars." The slave master denied that this amendment had been violated by saying that the constitution referred to controversies between persons and a slave was not a person but property and had no rights before the courts of law.

Another fundamental principle was denied when the slave had no recourse from false or long continued imprisonment by appealing for a writ of *habeas corpus*. This law of English origin had always been considered by Americans as the very bulwark of their liberty, but to the fugitive from service this law was of no avail.

Opponents said that the law offered a direct bribe to the commissioner for every decision in favor of the claimant. For every such decision he was to receive ten dollars, and only half as much if he discharged the accused. This made it imperative for him to decide in favor of the agent, whenever possible, in order to increase his financial income.

The people were to be taxed for the return of every fugitive slave, for if there seemed to be a likelihood of a rescue the commissioner could empower the marshal to appoint one or more assistants as an armed guard to aid him in returning the slave to the state from which he fled. The expense for such an expedition was to be paid out of the federal treasury. Each deputy so serving was to receive at least two dollars per day, while engaged in remanding the slave. Where there were thirty or forty men so engaged, it made the expense very heavy on the people and to this and its purpose they objected.

The law was claimed to be unconstitutional because it was an *ex post facto* law, as applied to slaves who had escaped from slavery before its passage, and all *ex post facto* laws are forbidden by the constitution itself. Many of the fugitives who had escaped from bondage before 1850 had lived in the state

many years, had married, had homes and had settled down to a quiet, industrious life in the community to which they had come. They were honest and held in high regard by the white people in their respective neighborhoods. If these fugitives were ever discovered by the man-hunters of the southern masters they could be seized, torn from their homes and their families and returned to bondage. Such action would be inhuman to the last degree and would not be tolerated by any self-respecting individual or community.

One of the worst features of the law was the one commanding all good citizens to assist the slave catcher in capturing his prey. People felt that a man held to bondage for no crime other than the color of his skin and the accident of his birth, had a right to flee for freedom, and their desire was to aid them in doing so; but the law imperiously demanded that they not aid the person seeking liberty, but regardless of sympathy and conscience in the matter to aid him who pursued the fugitive. It was a question of obeying the laws of the country or the higher law of conscience. Many refused the former and obeyed the latter. How could the law of the land be enforced when opposed by so large a portion of the people in the midst of whom it was expected to operate? It could not easily do so, for the moral consciousness of an indignant people rose above the law of the land and finally doomed it to a final overthrow and destruction.

The act had scarcely become the law of the land when some parts of Indiana began to be overrun by man-hunters. These men were not usually the owners of the alleged fugitives, but their agents, often coarse, brutal men whose bitter instincts had been smothered by years of slave driving. The law empowered these men to capture and bring to trial any negro they might suspect of being a runaway, to secure the aid of officers and to force bystanders, under penalty, to assist them, if necessary. The majority of people in Indiana were wanting peace and things were bidding fair to its attainment until certain slave owners and their agents began to come into the state to claim their runaways. These cases, of course, had to be tried in the newly created commissioner's courts. When cases began to be tried secretly and commitments made, when some, who had been free for a number of years were

being torn from their homes, families and friends by these slave catchers, and began to be arrested and tried, the murmurs which were but faintly heard before, now broke out in tones of rebellion against the iniquitous law. Men who had previously been strongly in favor of the law now began to align themselves against its execution. The reality of slavery had never been brought so forcibly to their attention before. Now the slave master was coming into their home communities, where reigned peace and happiness, and there arresting and seizing fugitives and carrying them before the courts to be consigned without jury trial to former slave relationship. Such spectacles drove people to revolt against this law and every new case tried and the commitment following only added fuel to the passionate flame.

These things occurred in Indiana during the decade before the Civil war. Many cases for commitment and rendition of fugitives were tried, how many will never be known. Only the most important were reported by the papers during the ten year period. Most of them were very much alike,—if identity were proven, a certificate must be issued for return. The next chapter will treat of some of the cases and to this we now turn.

OPERATION OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW IN INDIANA

I. THE FREEMAN CASE

By far the most exciting case under the fugitive slave law of 1850, in the state of Indiana, was that of John Freeman, which was begun on Tuesday, June 21, 1853, in the court of Squire Sullivan, commissioner of the United States for Indiana, in the city of Indianapolis. Freeman was a free negro who had come to Indianapolis in 1844, from the state of Georgia. He had been a free man for a number of years previous to his coming to the Indiana capital. He brought with him about \$600 which he deposited in one of the banks upon his arrival. A little later, he invested a part of his money in real estate. He was an industrious man, being a painter, whitewasher and a man who could do general labor

of all kinds. He soon won for himself a place in the confidence of every one who knew him, was universally esteemed and highly respected. He married a very sprightly girl then living in the family of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, pastor of the Second Presbyterian church. He rapidly accumulated property which at the time of his trial was probably worth \$6,000. He was trustworthy in every word and deed. He became a member of the colored Baptist church and was very active in all church affairs. He had a family of three little children when the Rev. Mr. Ellington put in his plea that Freeman was his absconded slave.

Pleasant Ellington, the prosecutor in the case, was a large slave holder and by profession, presumably, a Methodist preacher. He had formerly lived in Kentucky, but at the time of the trial was a resident of St. Louis, Missouri, to which place he had removed and where he possessed many slaves. His affidavit, filed before Commissioner Sullivan, claimed Freeman as his slave and at the time of its being filed did not state when the slave had escaped, but later fixed the date in March, 1836. Rev. Ellington was represented in the case by L. D. Walpole and J. A. Liston, Freeman by John L. Ketcham, John Coburn and Lucius Barbour. Being represented by such legal talent, the battle was to be fought hard on both sides. Freeman's fight was to establish that he had been and was a freeman, while Ellington must prove him to be his slave. Ellington from past experience and from the standpoint of the law had the advantage of the battle. It was not the first fight of this kind that Ellington had had. In the state of Missouri, he had the reputation of being one of the shrewdest and most successful suitors at law. The law presumed Freeman guilty to begin with and had it not been for the moral backing of the community, he probably would have been torn from his family and carried south to be sold again into slavery. But popular sentiment was with him and on this account he finally triumphed.

The arrest of Freeman was made by Deputy Marshal J. H. Stopp, who, in giving evidence later regarding the arrest of Freeman, said that Ellington came to the city on the day of the arrest and stopped at the house of a Mr. Githens, that there he first saw him and from there they went to Commis-

sioner Sullivan's office, where Ellington made his affidavit. When the affidavit was filed, he went to Freeman's house and induced him to go to the commissioner's office.²⁴ He induced Freeman to go to the commissioner's office by reporting to him that his presence was required before the justice of the peace to give testimony in a case where another man was a party. Freeman not suspecting anything unusual, accompanied the officer to the office of Squire Sullivan, the U. S. commissioner. Stopping for a moment at the office of Mr. Ketcham, which was adjoining the commissioner's office, he was apprehended and hurried before Commissioner Sullivan. Great reluctance was shown in giving Freeman permission to consult a lawyer. He finally secured the services of Mr. Ketcham, who wished a private consultation for a few moments with his client, which was granted. Very shortly the claimant and his posse became clamorous at the door. When the door was opened by Mr. Ketcham, Officer Stopp and his assistants seized Freeman with a ferocity that would have done honor to tigers and hurried him down stairs to the courthouse. He was led between two officers and followed by Ellington and his attendants. Ketcham soon followed and when he arrived, he found Ellington insolently engaged in examining Freeman's jaw and teeth to identify him. This action aroused Freeman's counsel, who immediately reminded the court and claimant that his client was a man, not a horse, and that he expected him to be treated as such.²⁵ The falsehood used and deception practiced, in the arrest of Freeman spread like wild fire among his friends. Commissioner Sullivan, at first, seemed inclined to act too hastily, but the public began to assemble and it was evident that a fair trial must be given. The people felt that Freeman had a clear record as a free man and they meant to see that justice was given him in the courts as to any other citizen of the community. The case was adjourned from time to time to give the counsel on both sides a chance to make full examination and this had the tendency to increase the excitement that always attended such a case.

Ellington had brought three men with him to prove the identity of his slave. He claimed Freeman was his slave Sam

²⁴ *The Locomotive*, May 13, '54.

²⁵ *The True Blue Republican*, July 6, 1853.

who had fled from him, while living in Kentucky, some 17 or 18 years before. With these Kentucky witnesses, Ellington felt quite confident of his ability in taking Freeman back with him. Freeman's counsel were advised that Ellington's witnesses were at hand and that Freeman was to be taken into their presence to be identified. Ellington was not satisfied with just the external appearance of Freeman, so he demanded a more thorough examination. On Tuesday Deputy Marshal Stopp took Freeman from jail to another room to be examined. When they were once in the room Mr. Liston, Ellington's attorney, very authoritatively demanded of Freeman to pull up his breeches that they might examine his legs for scars. Freeman's counsel directed him not to do it. Liston insisted—they opposed. At the insistence of Liston the deputy marshal very peremptorily ordered Freeman to expose his limb. His counsel told him not to do it, and then said they would not use force to prevent it, nor would Freeman resist if they chose to do so, but that he himself would not voluntarily take off his clothes and if they did it, it would be at their peril. The deputy marshal declined to do this, feeling he had no such authority.²⁶

Mr. Liston ordered Freeman back to jail and telegraphed the marshal, Mr. Robinson, who was out of the city, to see if an examination was possible under him. He arrived in the afternoon and closeted himself with Mr. Liston. Mr. Ketcham finally secured an interview with him and asked the right of the counsel to be present at the examination. The marshal said they could be present if they did not interfere with the examination, if they would not direct their client to refuse to strip himself, otherwise they could not. They would not accede. The counsel for the defense handed the marshal a written protest which went unheeded. The examination took place. Against his will and in the absence of his counsel Freeman was required to strip. They examined his legs, back and other portions of his person for marks by which to recognize him. Having seen all marks on Freeman's body Ellington's witnesses were, of course, ready to swear to them in court and establish the fact that Freeman was the veritable Sam, Ellington's old Kentucky slave. Freeman had but one

scar on his body and that was found on the left leg. It was about an inch and a half in diameter produced by a cut. By this mark and his appearance they were ready to perjure themselves and to take a free man into bondage.

The marshal who conducted this examination was John L. Robinson of Rushville, Indiana. He had been a man of some importance in the Democratic party of his state, had been elected to congress three times from the third district, had voted against the fugitive slave bill and now was serving as marshal by appointment from President Pierce. His conduct in aiding Ellington to secure evidence was greatly condemned by the press from all parts of the state. The wide-spread notoriety he received from this act he could never shake from his political toga. He was taunted as the crooked mileage man (because he had charged for 1,080 miles of mileage from Rushville to Washington while congressman) and Ellington's watch dog. Other similar odious and distasteful phrases were hurled at him all the time and everywhere.

A Shelbyville correspondent said that the conduct of the crooked mileage man and Ellington's humane counsel was what he condemned and not the fugitive law. He defied his friend to cite him to any part of the fugitive law that authorized the United States marshal, or any other man to strip a fugitive of every vestige of clothing, and that too against his consent and without the presence of his attorneys. And he further defied anyone to cite any authority whatever even in the blue laws of Connecticut that authorized an *ex parte* examination of witnesses, even in taking depositions without, at least, notifying the opposite party and giving him an opportunity to be present, either in person or by proxy.²⁷

A Madison paper scored Ellington and his witnesses for putting Freeman at par with beasts in regard to marks of identification other than the features and countenance, and further said:

And what is as strange as the conduct of those men, is the fact that John L. Robinson, the marshal, a man who ought to have some little respect for his state, even if he has none for himself, would permit such proceedings as have never been heard of elsewhere than perhaps in the quarters of the detested men whose ostensible occupation is to buy and

²⁷ *The True Blue Republican*, Aug. 31, 1853.

sell human flesh. Ellington and his men may have a motive, but none can be seen for Robinson, unless it be a natural hate of justice or a penurious desire to obtain the five dollars that he will lose if Freeman is not returned to slavery.²⁸

Commenting on Robinson's act the *Democrat* said:

Reader, what think you of such proceedings? Could you conceive that such an outrage could be committed under the direction of a civil officer in the "high noon of the nineteenth century" and in a country boasting of its civilization, christianity and refinement? Is there a citizen of Indianapolis—is there a citizen of the country, whose blood does not boil at the perpetration of such indignities? Had such a scene transpired in Austria, what curses and imprecations we should heap upon the infamous Haynau guilty of such an act! By the Haynau Marshal who perpetrates such a deed in the highly intelligent, civilized, refined and christian city of Indianapolis, shall we not all sing peons of glory to him? Shall not christians assemble in their respective churches and render devout thanks to Almighty God that Marshal John L. Robinson, by stripping the clothing off a respectable citizen of Indianapolis in his custody, or causing it to be done, and exposing his nakedness, has saved the union?

But has the marshal the least authority for such a disgraceful proceeding? Infamous as is the fugitive slave law, does it require any such duty of him? Does he not perform his whole duty under that law, when he keeps securely the alleged fugitive? Does that law require him to shut from his heart all sympathy for freedom, and to offer every possible facility for kidnapping? Throughout this whole case so far, the marshal has seemed to regard himself as the special agent of the claimant, and has, apparently, taken great pleasure in furnishing him every possible facility to make out his case, and has thrown almost every conceivable obstacle in the way of the defense.²⁹

In a meeting of independent democrats in Cass county it was resolved that John L. Robinson, marshal of the state of Indiana, be presented by the chairman of this meeting with a black leather collar marked: "The Ellington watch dog, to be let at \$3 per day."³⁰

Even the conservative democratic papers were forced to acknowledge the effects upon the public. A paper at Newcastle said relative to identifying the negro that:

Such occurrences as these must necessarily add much strength to the free soil party. They are strong weapons and will not be suffered

²⁸ *Madison Banner*, Aug. 4, 1853.

²⁹ *Indiana Democrat*, Aug. 5, '53.

³⁰ *Logansport Journal*, Sept. 10, '53.

to rust in their hands. The advocates of *finality* of the fugitive slave law, will lose much ground in consequence of the proceedings in the Freeman case. We do not believe that these unwarrantable proceedings should be charged against the law itself, but it will be done, and with great effect, too, in spite of all defense or apology.³¹

In this way was the ire of the peace-loving, freedom-seeking citizenship of Indiana aroused to antagonism.

In the meantime, the counsel for Freeman had procured a writ of *habeas corpus* and the case was transferred to the court of Stephen Major, judge of the Marion county circuit. Freeman pleaded that he was a free man and the proof of this fact rested upon various papers from guardians appointed by various courts in Virginia and Georgia and from court records under their seal, dated as far back as 1831.

The case was resumed at nine o'clock the next morning, Friday, before an immense and deeply interested crowd of spectators. Mr. Liston for Ellington, said they were not ready to reply to the pleas of Freeman and wished until Monday or Tuesday. This, the court refused to grant and gave the claimant until the next day to make reply.

When the court reconvened, Judge Major decided that he had no jurisdiction in the case and recommended that Freeman be put in the custody of the United States marshal, who placed him in jail to await the decision of Commissioner Sullivan. After the return of the fugitive from the circuit court, at the orders of Judge Major, the United States commissioner seemed much more inclined to grant a fair trial. He had probably taken into account the drift of popular opinion in the case, and when his court reconvened he granted a period of nine weeks in which to gather evidence. This grant favored Freeman, since it would give him an opportunity to get witnesses to prove the truth of his statements regarding his freedom. It would make against the claimant, since his ability to secure Freeman as his slave depended on quick action on the part of the commissioner in deciding the case.

Meanwhile, the counsel for Freeman had asked bail for their client for the nine weeks he would otherwise have to remain in jail. A note was drawn payable in sixty days to the State bank of Indiana for \$1,600 and was signed by one

³¹ Newcastle Democratic Banner, Aug. 11, 53.

hundred citizens of different parties, among whom were men of the first standing in the community, such as Judge Blackford, Judge Wick, W. B. Palmer, and Calvin Fletcher. Specie to the amount of the note was raised and brought into court as security to Ellington against damages. In addition a bond in the sum of \$4,000 was also signed by a number of citizens owning property to the amount of more than half million of dollars to indemnify him. Freeman's counsel offered still further to enter into a recognizance to any amount the claimant might name for the appearance of Freeman on the trial.

Freeman's counsel contended that this motion for bail was founded on the organic law of the northwest territory, which declared that "all persons shall be bailable"—by the organic laws Freeman is a man and included in the enactment. The law applies to all persons—to Freeman as well as to any other. Bail could not be denied in any case, except for capital offense and Freeman had committed no crime. Freeman should be admitted to bail to be permitted to go where he formerly lived to obtain testimony and prove his identity.³²

Walpole, for the claimant, said he came to protest against bailing a fugitive and called the attention of the court to a further provision of the ordinance of the northwest territory referred to by Freeman's counsel. "Fugitives from services or labor escaping from any of the states of the United States into any of the territories thereof shall be delivered up to the claimant on proper proof." He said further that Commissioner Sullivan's power was not judicial, but ministerial—that there was no authority for admitting Freeman to bail and that the proffered bond was of no legal value.

After hearing this argument Commissioner Sullivan decided that bail was not permissible under the circumstances and ordered Freeman remanded to jail to remain for the intervening nine weeks.

Because he feared that a rescue might take place, the marshal was thinking seriously of removing Freeman to the jail at Madison on the Ohio river for safe-keeping. To prevent this removal from his family and friends, Freeman was compelled to pay \$3 per day for a guard to watch over himself. This guard was selected by the marshal and was on duty sixty-

eight days, for which Freeman was forced to pay \$204. This, added to what had already occurred, enraged the people all the more. The United States marshal was held to be the cause of this affair and he was maligned and upbraided more than ever by the press.

During the nine weeks interim Freeman's counsel were busily engaged gathering evidence to clear their client. They went to Georgia and to Canada getting proof of Freeman's statements. At the request and direction of Freeman Messrs. Ketcham and Coburn both wrote letters to Monroe, Walton county, Georgia, the place of Freeman's former residence to ascertain whether they could get into communication with any witnesses. They both received letters proving what their client had previously said. Here is printed the letter received by Mr. Ketcham, and which was similar to the one received by Mr. Coburn:

MONROE, WALTON COUNTY, GEORGIA, July 6, 1853.

DEAR SIR—Mr. William W. Nowell, the clerk of our county court, has just handed me your letter of the 22d June, with the request that I should answer it, as I was better acquainted with John Freeman, the person enquired about, than he was. I replied to a letter of Mr. John Coburn of your place yesterday, on the same subject. I have lived in this place ever since January, 1826, and was well acquainted with John Freeman from the time he came here in 1831, till he left in 1844. I may be mistaken about the time he came—at any rate, it was in 1831 or 1832—but I think it was 1831. He had free papers, which were recognized by the judges of the inferior court of this county, and a certificate was granted him. Col. John P. Lucas was clerk at that time, if I recollect. Colonel Lucas wrote a bolder and plainer hand than I do. He died of apoplexy or paralysis since then. John Freeman went with him to the Florida war in 1836. John Freeman is of medium size, well made, and a black negro. There are hundreds of persons in this county who could testify that he came to this place as early as 1831, or '32, and remained here all the while except his trip to Florida in the spring of 1836, and one or two other times when he was absent for a few days on business for Creed M. Jennings and others. Creed M. Jennings lives now in Wetumpka, Alabama. He made his home with Mr. Jennings for several years after he came to this place. His statements that you speak of are true, and there can be no doubt but that the claim set up by the man from Missouri is fraudulent and can be proved to be so by any reasonable number of our most respectable citizens.

Respectfully,

LEROUY PATILLO, P. M.^{ss}

^{ss} *Indiana American*, Jan. 20, 1854.

Not being satisfied with the letter alone as evidence, Freeman asked Mr. Ketcham to go to Georgia and bring witnesses for his defense. This Mr. Ketcham did. He brought Leroy Patillo, the postmaster at Monroe, Georgia, and other acquaintances of Freeman. Mr. Ketcham concluded to test Freeman on his acquaintanceship with Patillo. He brought Mr. Patillo to the ante-room of the jail and placed him in an obscure position. Freeman was then brought in and shook hands with Mr. Ketcham. This gentleman then told him to look around and see if any of his old friends were present. He slowly cast his eyes around on those present, nodding to this and that one with the accustomed deferential manner of a colored man, but when he came to the southern gentleman spoken of, he fixed his eyes upon him, eagerly recognized him, rushed toward him, grasped his hand and with heartfelt emotion said, "God bless you, Massa Patillo, how do you do?" This was too much for the old gentleman's equanimity, he was unmanned and shed tears and, indeed, there were few dry eyes in the room.³⁴

While Mr. Ketcham was securing witnesses from Georgia and Alabama, Mr. Coburn was rounding up witnesses from Greenup county, Kentucky, the former home of Rev. Ellington and the place from which Ellington had brought his three witnesses to testify to the identity of Freeman as Sam. When he arrived at Amanda Furnace, Greenup county, Kentucky, he learned that Ellington's slave some years before had sent his respects to his master by Dr. Adams of Ohio. He learned that the doctor's daughter lived in the county, and from her he found out his residence to be in Jackson, Ohio. He immediately went to see the doctor, who stated that he had taken Sam's respects to his master; that Sam then lived in Salem, Ohio, and passed by the name of William McConnell; that he had told his name in a public speech; his master's name to be Ellington; his residence Greenup county, Kentucky, opposite Hanging Rock; his history, his escape and capture at Millersport, Ohio, in the year of 1835 in the canal. It was upon the occasion when Mr. Paul of Wheeling attempted to retake his slaves and failed, having been resisted by Sam, alias McConnell and others.

³⁴ Logansport *Journal*, July 30, 1853.

Mr. Coburn then went to Salem, where he found the doctor's statements confirmed, found men who knew Sam's marks, his history since 1836 at Salem and his account of his slavery and adventure on Big Sandy at the Iron Furnaces and the Hanging Rock ferry. He found that McConnell answered the descriptions given of Sam in the depositions in Kentucky, which did not correspond with Freeman.

He returned to Indianapolis and offered to bear Ellington's expense to Canada to Sam's residence, where he had fled upon the passage of the new fugitive slave law. This, Ellington refused to do. Mr. Coburn then proceeded to Kentucky and prevailed upon Henry A. Mead, Esq., a relative of Ellington, a slaveholder, and a man of wealth, who now resided on the farm whence Sam escaped, to go with him to Canada. He also prevailed upon Capt. James Nichols, a near neighbor, and the largest slaveholder in Greenup county, to accompany them. They are both gentlemen of the first character and friends of Ellington. When they started, they said it was impossible that Ellington could be mistaken in his man, but that they would go to Canada and see if the man pointed out was really Sam. They went together. When near Sam's house, Mr. Coburn staid behind in the woods, and let Messrs. Mead and Nichols go alone to the house. As they approached, a mutual recognition took place. They met as old friends, shook hands, conversed freely about Ellington and all their former acquaintances.

Sam seemed very glad to see them. He showed them the scars on his person, a very large burn on the outside of his left leg below the knee going down to the ankle, scars on the back over the shoulders produced by the bite of another negro, a mark on his left wrist and another on the left elbow, his peculiarly small ears, his singular feet, the two longer toes on each foot being much longer than others in proportion, and what were surer marks, their mutual recollections tallied. They went to Indianapolis, in their depositions stated the facts as above, and that they had not the shadow of a doubt as to the man in Canada being the genuine Sam.³⁵

The evidence secured by Mr. Coburn regarding the body marks of Sam, who was then residing near Malden, Canada,

³⁵ From *The Bugle*, quoted by the *Locomotive*, Sept. 24, '53.

did not correspond with those of Freeman. Freeman had but one body mark, a scar about one and one-half inches in diameter on the left leg produced by a cut. He had no scar on the left leg from being burnt, no bite marks on his back or shoulders, nor any marks on his arms. The outward appearance of Sam and Freeman did not tally. Sam was tall, jet black and full chested. Freeman was six inches shorter, low, heavy set and was a muddy brown in color. This was bad evidence for the Rev. Mr. Ellington, whose Sam had disappeared from his Kentucky home sixteen years before.

The day for Freeman's last test for freedom was fast approaching. There was deep feeling manifested on the part of Indianapolis citizens in regard to the case, so much so that one of the city papers cautioned calmness on the part of the people. After announcing that Freeman's trial had been set for Monday the 29th of August and that Freeman's counsel had "spared no exertions to prove his innocence, having been to Georgia once and to Canada twice", they continued in the following strain:

A good deal of feeling exists in the community on this case, as many think the law, under which he will be tried, will not give him a chance to prove his innocence. This is the fault of the law. One object in writing this is to caution our citizens against permitting their feelings to lead them to do or say anything that should not be said or done. The best course is to leave his defense in the hands of his counsel, who have and will do all that can be done to save him. If his freedom is established, of course, Ellington is liable for damages, and they can be recovered from him. If it is not established, let the officers of the law quietly carry it out. Resistance will only bring those that engage in it into difficulty without doing any good. In cases of this kind, a mild course is always best—using unkind or threatening expression on either side only embitters and confirms, without doing any good and against this either in word or action, we would like to see our citizens guard.³⁶

In the midst of this excitement, Creed M. Jennings, his old guardian, arrived from Alabama. He had heard of Freeman's bad situation and had come to aid him. Like Mr. Patillo before him, he was accompanied to the jail, together with many of the citizens of the town. Freeman did not know that Mr. Jennings was in the city or anything about his intended visit. The prisoner was shaking hands with his friends, when he observed the stranger. He rushed toward

him, grasped his hand with emotion, fell on his knees and exclaimed, "God bless you Massa Jennings". He then turned around and observed to the spectators that Massa Jennings knew he didn't lie, and that he was not a slave, or something to that effect. The spectators were strongly moved and Mr. Jennings could not repress the tears of feeling and sympathy.³⁷

Ellington arrived on the scene on Saturday before the trial which was set for the following Monday. He brought his son with him to be a witness for reclamation. Mr. Liston, who had become convinced that Freeman was not Ellington's slave, advised Ellington to abandon the case. Before the son went to see Freeman, he read the depositions of Messrs. Nichols and Mead, which thoroughly prepared his mind for a proper inspection. On his return, he said he did not believe that Freeman was his father's slave. Thereupon, Ellington gave up the fight and Commissioner Sullivan dismissed the case. On that day and the following Monday, the day set for the trial, six Georgians came to testify in behalf of Freeman. They had all known him since 1831. Messrs. Patillo and Jennings had come previously and Gov. Howell Cobb of Alabama would have come had he been telegraphed.

Commenting upon the action of the southern witnesses the *Locomotive* said:

All praise is due these gentlemen from Kentucky and Georgia for their magnanimous and manly conduct, and most nobly does their disinterested generosity contrast with the repacity of Ellington. Ellington as a ruse, pretended to desire a compromise with Freeman on Saturday, but ran away without having offered one cent.³⁸

It is said by an Indiana writer that the crestfallen Ellington went on foot by night to a station south of Indianapolis on the Madison and Indianapolis railroad and took cars for his southern home never again to be seen in the old Hoosier state.³⁹

The people of Indianapolis and the state at large were greatly rejoiced over the outcome of the trial, but they had increased hatred for the law which came so near dragging

³⁷ *Indiana Daily Journal*, Aug. 26, 1853.

³⁸ *Locomotive*, Sept. 2, '53.

³⁹ O. H. Smith, *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*, 279-9.

back into slavery a free, colored man. From Fort Wayne came the clarion cry:

Freeman, the colored man, who has been claimed as a slave by a Methodist preacher from St. Louis, named Ellington, has been released, having clearly and uncontestedly proved that he was not the man sought. The reverend slave catcher has been compelled to give up his victim. Freeman's counsel are going to commence a suit for damages against Ellington. A more flagrant case of injustice, we have never seen. It appears to us in such cases, that if the person swearing to the identity of the accused and seeking to consign a free man to slavery, were tried and punished for perjury, a wholesome lesson would be given which might prevent injustice to free persons of color. The fugitive slave law evidently needs some amendment, to give greater protection to free persons of color. As it now stands, almost any of them might be dragged into slavery. If Freeman had not had money and friends he must inevitably have been taken off into bondage. Any poor man, without friends, would have been given up at once and taken away, and it was only by the most strenuous exertions that he was rescued. A law under which such injustice can be perpetrated, and which holds out such inducements to perjury, is imperfect and must be amended or repealed. The American people have an innate sense of justice which will not long allow such a law to disgrace our statute books.⁴⁰

From the *True Republican* we quote:

Freeman, the alleged fugitive, claimed by Ellington and confined in jail at Indianapolis, has been liberated. Here is an evidence of evil growing out of the fugitive slave law and one that will be remembered by the people of Indiana in all time to come. This slave-hunting minister who has been bold enough to attempt to kidnap a free negro has all at once become convinced that Freeman is not his slave. This single instance of an attempt at kidnapping is sufficient to show that the fugitive slave bill is bad law, bad constitution, bad morality and worse religion. Humanity demands a modification.⁴¹

The *American* expresses its reproach for Ellington and his witnesses and the injustice done Freeman in this manner:

We see in this case the most remarkable instance on record of mistaken personal identity or else stupendous perjury. Here comes Ellington and swears to his chattel, then come others to testify to his identity, and yet after all he is no slave, but a *bona fide* free man. Now, were Ellington and his co-swearers all this time mistaken? If so, what a lesson to our courts on the difficulty of personal identity. If not "mistaken" then were they all the while practicing deep prejury, and now who pays

⁴⁰ Fort Wayne *Sentinel*, Sept. 8, 1853.

⁴¹ *True Republican*, Aug. 31, 1853.

these costs? Who pays the loss of Freeman's time, the sacrifice of his business and the destruction of its profits? By the "mistake" or perjury of the covetous wretch who sought to increase his ownership in groaning humanity, has this man been stripped of his property. Has he a remedy? Does this "glorious" compromise furnish an offset against a grievance so oppressive? Must this man, innocent and free, bear all this outrage and have no legal redress? must he? Is this justice? Shall no legal justice be visited on the would-be- man-stealer and the marshal, who was his tool and co-oppressor?⁴²

Freeman did not let such indecent conduct go unchallenged. As has been indicated, his counsel began a damage suit against Ellington for \$10,000. The case was filed in the Marion county court in September, 1853, and was docketed for the next term of court. On the Saturday that the case against Freeman was dismissed by Commissioner Sullivan, Ellington's attorneys made an attempt to compromise with Freeman. They offered either to pay \$1,500, as a full satisfaction, or else the expense incurred by him in the suit, including reasonable lawyers fees, \$2 a day for lost time, and a reasonable amount for damages. Freeman's counsel agreed to receive \$3,000, but Ellington did not tarry longer to compromise and made sure his escape that night.⁴³

The damage suit against Ellington came up in May, 1854, in the county circuit court. Ellington did not appear himself, his attorneys acting for him. Freeman sued for \$10,000 damages for false imprisonment. The trial started on Tuesday and the forenoon was taken up in examining Stopp, who acted as marshal in Freeman's arrest. He told about going to Freeman's home and taking him to Commissioner Sullivan's office, thence to the courthouse, accompanied by Ellington and his men, how Ellington attempted to examine Freeman's teeth and face and had been repulsed by Ketcham, who reminded him that Freeman "was not a horse." His examination continued until noon, when court adjourned until one o'clock. When court convened, it was stated that the case was settled and an agreement of the counsel read that a verdict should be rendered for the plaintiff for \$2,000 and costs of the suit. This award to Freeman meant nothing to him, for it was never paid. Ellington disposed of his property and left

⁴² *Indiana American*, Sept. 22, '53.

⁴³ *Locomotive*, Sept. 3, 1853.

St. Louis. Soon the great Civil war came and both litigants were lost sight of in its whirlpool.⁴⁴

Not long after the damage suit, it happened that a person familiar with the particulars of the Freeman trial was traveling through Missouri and passing through Ellington's home county ascertained all about the Missouri preacher and wrote a letter to the editors of the *Indiana State Journal*. It is as follows:

PLATE COUNTY, MISSOURI, July 24, 1854.

MESSRS. EDITORS—I give you one of the last that I have heard in this region as a sequel to the events that have given notoriety to Pleasant Ellington. I am now in his county and he seems to be very generally known.

The report is this, as brought back, I suppose by himself. The abolitionists, alias the citizens of Indianapolis, privately managed to steal away his negro out of jail and sent him away to Canada by the hands of men who returned and swore that they had seen Ellington's negro in Canada. In his place in the jail they substituted Freeman, a free negro, and sent to Georgia for testimony to prove his freedom. By this adroit, but rather costly maneuver he had been tricked out of his negro.

The report gains about as much currency here as it would be in your own city. Ellington is held in about the same estimation here as there. The people of his own town rejoiced in his defeat. Ellington, it is said, to avoid the Freeman judgment, has disposed of his property and left for parts unknown. When in the Wyandott nation, I learned that a lot of his negroes had been brought there for safety.⁴⁵

From this letter it is discovered that Henry Ward Beecher was not very far wrong, when in a letter to the Indianapolis papers he called Ellington a "scoundrel clergyman" and the men who aided him in his trial as a gang of "base miscreants". Further on in this letter, referring to Ellington, Beecher says:

Meanwhile, that same God, who permits the existence of tarantulas, scorpions and other odious vermin, suffers also the existence of such creatures as this Rev. Ellington. It may serve a purpose in a glossy, timid, shuffling age to exhibit before the sun how utter a villain a man may be and yet keep within the pale of the law within the permissions of the church and within the requirements of the Christian ministry. To crush the human heart, to eat a living household, to take a family into ones hands and crush it like a cluster of grapes, this is respectable, legal and christian in the estimation of cotton patriots and patriotic

⁴⁴ *The Locomotive*, May 13, 1854.

⁴⁵ *Weekly State Journal*, Aug. 12, 1854.

christians, who regard law as greater than justice, the Union more important than public virtue and practical christianity.⁴⁶

Freeman's friends and counsel later tried to collect damages from J. L. Robinson for compelling Freeman to strip himself twice in the presence of Ellington and his witnesses, without his counsel being present. Robinson, it will be recalled, forbade Freeman's counsel to be present, if they should do anything to prevent him from being stripped. As a result of such rigorous treatment, Robinson was sued in the Marion county circuit court for \$3,000. In his complaint Freeman charged that Robinson, as marshal did "assault the plaintiff, and strip him naked, and expose his naked limbs and body to divers persons who were witnesses against the plaintiff, and thereby exposed the plaintiff to be carried into slavery for life by fraud and perjury", that from June 21 to September 1st Robinson, "by fraud, threats and duress illegally extorted from the plaintiff the sum of three dollars per day during said period for a space of 60 days".⁴⁷ Robinson answered these allegations by pleading that the acts complained of were in the course of his duty as an officer, and also pleaded a lack of jurisdiction, on the ground that he resided in Rush county. The case was finally appealed to the supreme court. The supreme court sustained the lower court, which upheld Robinson's pleas on the point of lack of jurisdiction. It did hold, however, that stripping and exposure to hostile witnesses and the extortion of money were no part of Robinson's official duty. This decision was given December 21, 1855. Why Freeman did not bring suit against Robinson in Rush county is not known, but he seems to have grown tired of litigation and with the decision of the supreme court the fight was forever closed.

While these things were transpiring Robinson's cowardly conduct was being flayed by some of the papers in Indianapolis. Said one:

The President's approval of his conduct, proves nothing but that Mr. Robinson has made good use of the opportunity he had of appearing in the double character of witness and advocate. Freeman was not before the President at the same time. But allowing that Mr. Robinson

⁴⁶ *Indiana Free Democrat*, Aug. 4, 1853.

⁴⁷ *Freeman vs. Robinson*, 7 Ind., p. 321.

intended to represent the matter fairly to Mr. Pierce, his approval is not so satisfactory as the verdict of a jury would be, and why did not Mr. Robinson let a jury pass upon the matter? The demurrer applied only to the jurisdiction of the court, not to the merits of the case. The filing that demurrer was entirely in Mr. Robinson's power. Why did he not let it alone, and let the jury take the case on its merits? Was he as confident of their approval as the President's? Consciousness of right does not seek evasion, and a plea to the jurisdiction is an evasion always.⁴⁸

Freeman had most of his capital invested in real estate. He owned about four acres of land lying in lot four St. Clair's addition between Meridian and Pennsylvania streets near the present site of St. Peter's and St. Paul's cathedral.⁴⁹ He also owned an eat shop on Washington near Meridian. His trial left him almost destitute. He had been at a heavy expense in procuring evidence and paying witness fees. The marshal had practically compelled him to pay three dollars a day for a guard to watch over him while he was in jail. No charges were made against him by the court or his lawyers. The heaviest expenses in procuring witnesses were those from Georgia and Alabama.

To aid him in financing his trial for liberty an appeal was made to the ministers of the churches of Indiana and Georgia for relief. The money thus secured was to be turned over to Calvin Fletcher, president of the State Bank of Indianapolis, in which Freeman was liable for a note for \$1,288 with interest. This had to be paid, or his property would have to be sold to meet it. Finances were finally accumulated in this manner to save his home of a few acres which he gardened. Upon this he lived until the war, when he sold out and left the city for Canada.⁵⁰

Thus ended the Freeman case, by far the greatest single event in the execution of the fugitive law in Indiana. It aligned people against it who were formerly for it. It brought home to the people as nothing could, or ever had done before, the fact that innocent people were likely to be drawn again into the shackles of slavery, an institution which they had come to hate and which they thought wrong anywhere and especially contrary to democracy. Not only was one part or

⁴⁸ The *Chanticleer*, Feb. 9, '54.

⁴⁹ Town Lot Record, p. 95

⁵⁰ *Indiana American*, Jan. 20, '54.

one section of the state brought to realize the wickedness and injustice of the law, but from every part of the state newspapers commented on the case and scored the law. As being characteristic of that time and prophetic of the future, we close with a quotation from a paper of that time:

We admit all the difficulties and dangers which surround the question of the amelioration or overthrow of this institution (slavery). But we believe the world does move, that its ideas are progressing, that the christian religion is elevating the moral sentiments of mankind, and that the day is coming when this gross outrage upon humanity, this wrong to the oppressed and injury to the oppressor, will disappear from this continent. The enlightened civilization which is spreading over the world, the gradual elevation of the masses of the human family in intelligence and morality forbid that this monstrous outrage should be tolerated by the people of the states where it exists much longer. If christianity and republicanism combined cannot undermine it, neither of them is as potent as we have reason to hope and believe. We speak of this evil in no unkind spirit towards the great body of the people of the slave states, who know and feel that slavery is an evil, but who are unable to see any means of escape from it. But what can be thought of the morality or religion of a man who claims as his property a fellow being, who has not been under his control for twenty years, who has formed new relations, established a character for industry and thrift, and who has accumulated property to a considerable amount, to compel him to give up all and return to bondage, or to extort from him or his friends an exorbitant price for the human chattel? What would the majority of high-minded men in a slave state say to the justice of such a stale claim themselves?⁵¹

⁵¹ *The True Republican*, Aug. 10, 1853.

(To be continued)

Historical News

BY LUCY ELLIOTT

A total of one hundred and sixty-five members have been added to the Indiana Historical Society since January 1, 1921. Following is a list of the names as reported by Miss Lucy M. Elliott, secretary of the membership committee:

- | | |
|---|--|
| Ade, George, Brooks | Cox, William N., Bloomingdale |
| Alldredge, Henry D., Vallonia | Decker, John F., Bluffton |
| Allison, Ebert, Tipton | Dinwiddie, Mrs. John Lee, Fowler |
| Almond, James E., Wabash | Dooley, Mrs. Rufus, Rockville |
| Armstrong, Mrs. Mary, Boonville | Dooley, Mr. Rufus, Rockville |
| Askew, Mrs. Harry, Bedford | Earl, Mrs. Elizabeth Clayton, Mun- |
| Austin, Miss Lelah, English | cie |
| Axby, Dr. J. L., Aurora | Edwards, Alice S., Peru |
| Baker, Mrs. Fannie, Indianapolis | Elder, Mrs. Laura B., Indianapolis |
| Baker, Mrs. Mae, Huntington | Elliott, Lucy M., Indianapolis |
| Ball, Albert J., Indianapolis | Felter, Mrs. Frank, Huntington |
| Barker, W. L., Boonville | Feudner, Will C., Rushville |
| Bates, William O., Indianapolis | Finch, Miss Alice, Indianapolis |
| Barrows, Mrs. Frederica, Connerville | Flanner, Frank B., Indianapolis |
| Bohannon, Anna L., Rushville | Forsyth, Edgar T., Indianapolis |
| Baxter, Amos R., Rushville | Fortune, Will, Indianapolis |
| Beale, Fred R., Rushville | Foster, Glen E., Rushville |
| Bentley, Bonnie, Clinton | Foster, Samuel M., Ft. Wayne |
| Bone, Mrs. Charles, West Lafayette | Frazer, Harriet D., Warsaw |
| Boss, Mrs. John C., Elkhart | Frederick, J. E., Kokomo |
| Bowen, Caroline P., Delphi | Fretageot, Mrs. Nora, New Harmony |
| Boyd, Permelia, Scottsburg | Gaesser, Theo S., Troy |
| Brown, Mrs. Agnes Fletcher, Ft. Wayne | Gardner, Nora G., Monticello |
| Brown, Austin H., Indianapolis | Garvin, Susan M., Evansville |
| Brown, Chester G., Indianapolis | Green, Ferrol, Franklin |
| Burns, Lee, Indianapolis | Green, Thomas M., Rushville |
| Bynum, Mrs. Cora, Lebanon | Gresham, Mr. Otto, Indianapolis |
| Carney, John Ralph, Vernon | Gipson, Prof. L. H., Crawfords- |
| Case, Mrs. J. D., Rushville | ville |
| Catlin, Mrs. T. H., Rockville | Goble, W. O., Swayzee |
| Colbert, Miss Emma, Indianapolis | Griswold, B. J., Ft. Wayne |
| Comstock, Paul, Richmond | Haines, Prof. D. D., Crawfords- |
| Collins, Mrs. H. H., New Albany | ville |
| Cox, Miles S., Rushville | Haines, George M., Clarks Hill |
| Cox, Ralph Stewart, Bartlesville, Okla. | Hamilton, Leland S., Bloomington |
| | Harrison, Martha McCarty, Indianapolis |
| | Haworth, C. V., Kokomo |

- Hendricks, Mrs. Jane Thomas, Indianapolis
 Hoagland, Merica Evans, Indianapolis
 Holmes, C. O., Gary
 Hopkins, Mrs. Ada, Boonville
 Insley, William H., Indianapolis
 Irwin, M. H., Brookville
 Irwin, William G., Columbus
 Johnson, John W., Patriot
 Kelly, Daniel E., Valparaiso
 Ketcham, Mrs. William, Indianapolis
 Kirkpatrick, Miss Margaret, Rockville
 Kiper, Mrs. Nannette, Boonville
 Lesh, Mrs. Ofa Wilkins, Indianapolis
 Lindsay, George D., Marion
 Lombard, Mrs. Mary, Spencer
 Luckett, Kate, Corydon
 Lupton, A. J., Hartford City
 McBride, Robert W., Indianapolis
 McClellan, J. Y. W., Auburn
 McCray, Mrs. Homer, Kendallville
 McCoy, Harriet A., Indianapolis
 McIlwain, Frank, Rushville
 McKinsey, Alma J., Frankfort
 McNamee, Wabash
 McNitt, Esther, Indianapolis
 McPheeters, Thaddeus H., Indianapolis
 McWhirter, Luella F., Indianapolis
 Maple, Dr. James B., Sullivan
 Marion, Iva, Newport
 Matthew, William H., Gary
 Mavity, John M., Valparaiso
 Merry, Blanche, Rensselaer
 Moore, J. B. H., Indianapolis
 Musselman, Mrs. Ella, Indianapolis
 Nelson, Mary C., Logansport
 Newsom, Vida, Columbus
 Nicholson, Miss Elizabeth, Indianapolis
 Noel, Elizabeth Buchanan, Indianapolis
 O'Bannon, Lew M., Corydon
 Oliver, John W., Indianapolis
 Otis, Fred B., Bedford
 Palmer, Harriet C., Miss, Franklin
 Payne, Earl H., Rushville
 Payne, Ralph, Rushville
 Penrod, Will K., Loogootee
 Pentecost, Mrs. P. J., Tipton
 Ratts, Oscar (Hon.), Paoli
 Reade, Mrs. Anna R., Indianapolis
 Record, Claude M., Medarysville
 Reisler, Mrs. Simon, Indianapolis
 Reser, Alva O., Lafayette
 Robinson, Mary Yandes, Indianapolis
 Robinson, W. D., Versailles
 Roetzele, Mrs. Helen, Boonville
 Ross, Mrs. Ora Thompson, Rensselaer
 Roth, Mrs. George A., Boonville
 Routh, Miss Alma Ashley, Indianapolis
 Rumpler, Mrs. Maude Lucas, Indianapolis
 Schlegel, Clarence O., Oaktown
 Schurz, Edwin, Laporte
 Sims, Fred A., Indianapolis
 Simms, Dan W., Lafayette
 Sisters of Providence, St. Marys of the Woods
 Sheridan, Mrs. H. C., Frankfort
 Shirk, John, Brookville
 Snepp, Daniel W., Edinburg
 Sparks, Mrs. Nathan, Jeffersonville
 Starr, Henry C., Richmond
 Stiffler, Charles B., Rushville
 Stoops, Alice B., Petersburg
 Strauss, S. W., New York City
 Taggart, Harold F., Richmond
 Tandy, Mrs., Vevay
 Taylor, Mrs. Mamie, Petersburg
 Taylor, Judge Arthur, Petersburg
 Teel, William Ross, Indianapolis
 Thomas, Ernest B., Rushville
 Thompson, Charles Nebeker, Indianapolis
 Thompson, Lucy Pritchard Sawyer, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Torbet, Charles E., Evansville
Van Buskirk, J. B., Monticello
Voris, Arta Payne, Mrs. M. J.,
 Franklin
Weik, Jesse, Greencastle
Wheatley, Ella C., Oakland City
Wiles, Mrs. Cora Y., Indianapolis
Wilkinson, Orville A., Indianapolis
Williams, Oscar H., Bloomington

Williams, C. Roy, Vincennes
Wills, Evelyn E., Bedford
Wilson, Thomas J., Corydon
Wilson, Margaret A., Jasper
Wishard, Mrs. Dr. William Niles,
 Indianapolis
Wright, Mrs. Lizzie B., Rockport
Wynn, Thomas A., Indianapolis
Young, Mrs. A. H., Hanover

The last session of the Indiana General Assembly passed two acts that are of special interest to the history loving people of Indiana. One of these known as Senate Bill 190, authorizes the County Commissioners in each county where there is an historical society, or where such a society may hereafter be organized, to employ a curator, whose duties shall be prescribed by the Historical Society. For the purpose of paying the curator's salary, which in no case shall exceed seventy-five (\$75) dollars per month, and for the purpose of collecting, cataloging, and printing historical material, the county commissioners are authorized to appropriate from the county funds the sum of fifteen hundred (\$1,500) dollars per year. Counties like St. Joseph, Jefferson, Allen, Washington, Henry, Bartholomew, White, Franklin, Miami, and Jackson, counties that have already taken the lead in historical work, will no doubt take advantage of the provisions of this act at once. Others will join in the movement, encouraged by the support that is now made available from public funds.

Another act of particular interest to counties that are compiling a war history, was passed during the recent session of the legislature. This act authorized county commissioners to appropriate the sum of one thousand (\$1,000) dollars to be used for the printing of the county's war history. The act also provides that one copy of the history shall be placed in each public library within the county, each school library of the county, and each post of the American Legion in the county. In a majority of the counties in Indiana, the histories pertaining to the county's activities in the World War have been compiled in manuscript form, and with the encouragement now offered by public support these will be printed.

There should be a county war history published for each of the ninety-two counties in the state.

A special act authorizing the Historical Commission to present one copy of the state's Gold Star Volume to the parents or next of kin of all those who lost their lives while in service during the World War was also passed at the recent session. This will constitute the state's greatest and most lasting memorial to the sons and daughters of Indiana who paid the supreme sacrifice in the World War.

The Washington County Historical Society at its February meeting elected the following officers:

President: Mrs. Harvey Morris.

Secretary: Mrs. Will C. Berkey.

Treasurer: Miss Mattie White.

Mrs. P. A. Cauble was appointed chairman of a committee to secure historical material and relics to be added to the society. Among the interesting relics recently added to the society's collection are two old steamboat lanterns, and a piece of the first iron rail used on the New Albany and Salem Railroad. The latter was the gift of Frank Richardson, a Washington County pioneer who now lives in Colorado.

John B. Keyes, custodian of the DePauw estate, Salem, Indiana, died February 12, 1921. Upon the death of the late Mr. Keyes, the DePauw property was awarded to the city of Salem, and many of the heirlooms have been turned over to the Washington County Historical Society. General John DePauw, the original owner of the land on which the old DePauw home was built, is associated with the early Indiana history as a member of the Constitutional Convention at Corydon in 1816, and as State Senator from Washington, Lawrence, Jackson, Orange, and Monroe counties 1825-1830. He was commissioned colonel of the Ninth Militia Regiment during the war of 1812. He laid out the town of Salem in 1814. The old DePauw home, built by Washington C. DePauw, patron of DePauw University, stands as it was built, still retaining much of the original furniture. Among the heirlooms turned over to the County Historical Society is a gown worn by the wife of General DePauw when she became his bride in 1809. The tight-waisted, full skirted, silk dresses, the em-

broidered shawls, the silk mitts and bonnets, are all in excellent state of preservation.

"The Old Capitol Hotel," which stood a little more than a mile east of Corydon, was destroyed by fire on the night of March 20, 1921. This historic land mark built in (1807) 1809, with more than a century's history, is one of the last of those famous buildings that played such an important part in early Indiana history. Within this old tavern the members of the early Indiana legislature lived while attending sessions during the pioneer period of Indiana history. The stone walls of the old building were more than eighteen inches in thickness, and stood twenty feet in height. An effort was made by some of the patriotic citizens in Corydon to have the old building preserved, but satisfactory terms with the owner could not be agreed upon, and the old stone, sad to relate, is being ground into crushed rock, in order to be used on the public highways. Another land mark in Indiana history gone!

A representative of the Historical Society of Chicago, recently paid a visit to John F. Wiseman near Patriot, Switzerland County, Indiana, and purchased an old plow which was used a century ago by the old settlers of southeastern Indiana. The plow has a wooden mould-board made of black walnut, a hickory paddle with steel land side and steel shear. It was originally purchased by Frederick J. Wiseman, an early settler of Switzerland County, who bought the implement from one of the Swiss settlers. His son, John F. Wiseman, the recent owner of the plow, is now eighty-one years old. It is believed that this old implement of agriculture is at least one hundred and twenty-five years old, and it is still in good condition. To the history loving people of Indiana, this is only another evidence of the imperative need of a state museum in which the old relics and implements owned by our forefathers should be carefully and permanently preserved. It is a most severe indictment on the people of Indiana to allow historical societies and institutions from neighboring states to come into our midst and carry out of the state these historical heirlooms which should be sacredly guarded and permanently preserved in Indiana.

Mr. K. P. Diffenderfer of Cambridge City, Indiana, who for fifty years has been employed on the Pennsylvania Rail-

road, is collecting data on the old Jeffersonville, Madison, and Indianapolis (Panhandle) Railroad, with the view of preparing an historical narrative of this old road. The data compiled by Mr. Diffenderfer includes a roster of the engines used on the old line in 1875, together with their names and numbers. The names of the engineers and the officers of the road, and a description of the old coaches first used on this line are to be included in this history. According to the records the first railway sleeping cars used in Indiana were built by William Higgins in 1868. Mr. Higgins was master car builder at Jeffersonville, Indiana, and built four sleeping cars in the year 1868. According to Mr. Diffenderfer, Lew Pennington of Scottsburg, and James Lewis of Jeffersonville were the first railway telegraphers in Indiana to take messages by ear.

The Conservation Department of Indiana recently obtained by purchase the Mahlon I. Paxon—Bluffton, Indiana—collection of relics and antiques. The Paxon collection is considered one of the largest individual collections of its kind in Indiana if not in the entire United States. The late Mr. Paxon who was a Civil War veteran spent many years of his life and thousands of dollars in building up this collection. Included in the collection is an old four poster bed and trundle bed, several wooden lanterns, old clocks, dog-irons, case of skeletons, and skeleton bones, three deer heads, candle lamps and moulders, several spinning wheels, and hundreds of Indian relics such as stones, clubs, pipes, hatchets, axes, darts of all sizes, bows and arrows and numerous other articles.

A brief history of Commodore Perry's expedition to Japan in 1852 compiled by Miss Mary H. Krout of Crawfordsville, Indiana, has been issued by the United States Government as one of its public documents. It is reprinted from the United States Naval Institute Proceedings, Volume 47. In view of much of the yellow journal discussion that is taking place just now regarding the relations between the United States and Japan it is interesting to note here that included in with the twelve articles of the treaty of 1852, there was a provision declaring that there should be perfect, permanent and universal peace forever between the United States on the one part and Japan on the other, and between their peoples respectively without exception of persons or places.

Among the newspapers in Indiana that have played a prominent part in the history of our state is to be listed the Richmond *Palladium*, reported as the second oldest Indiana newspaper. The first issue of this newspaper appeared January 31, 1821, under the editorship of Nelson Boone, a pioneer printer of the Middle West. Mr. Boone was in charge of the paper only a short time. One of the early owners was John Finley, the second mayor of Richmond, whose Hoosier Nest has been said by some to have been responsible for the term "Hoosier". Two copies of the old Richmond *Palladium* are known to be in existence. In one of these a special editorial appears calling attention to the fact that the paper on which the *Palladium* was printed was manufactured in Richmond, and that the mill which turned out this old print paper was the first in Indiana. There was no wood pulp in those days, and the paper was manufactured from genuine rags. As a result the old issues of the *Palladium* show comparatively little decay during the ninety years. The advertising included in these two issues includes statements from merchants, millers, blacksmiths, and doctors.

The Bartholomew County Historical Society was organized on March 26, 1921, with the following officers:

George Pence, President.

Will Irwin, Vice-President.

Miss Vida Newsom, Treasurer.

D. J. Richards, Secretary.

At the opening meeting Mr. Pence read a paper on the "Making of Bartholomew County," which will be printed as one of the society's publications. The society will hold its meetings temporarily in the Chamber of Commerce building. The constitution and by-laws adopted by this society provides for an annual meeting on January 8th, the date of the organization of the county. Provision was also made for electing honorary members, and Mr. George Pence was chosen as the first honorary member of the Society.

The Parke County Historical Society held an interesting meeting on Friday, April 29th, in Rockville, at which time Professor Harlow Lindley, Secretary of the Indiana Historical Commission, delivered an address. This is Parke County's Centennial year, and the meeting took the form of a centennial

celebration. Professor Lindley, a native of Parke County, spoke on the subject of "Popularizing History."

The Fort Wayne Historical Society, the largest local society formed in Indiana, was organized March 23, 1921, with a charter membership of 204 members. The following officers were elected:

President: W. H. Peltier.

Vice-President: B. J. Griswold.

Secretary: Mrs. J. B. Frankshaw.

Treasurer: Ross F. Lockridge.

Fort Wayne has blazed the way for other cities in Indiana in promoting the study and presentation of local history. An historical revue portraying the history of Ft. Wayne from 1614 to 1761 was presented to a crowded house on two or three separate occasions, preceding the organization of the society. The pageant aroused great interest on the part of the citizens of Ft. Wayne in their local history. Pageants and historical revues are rapidly becoming more popular throughout the state, and for the purpose of presenting a review of a community's local history are unsurpassed. Mr. B. J. Griswold, local historian of Ft. Wayne, is running a series of interesting articles in the *Journal Gazette* entitled "Stories of Old Fort Wayne". Mr. Griswold has already identified himself as the foremost historian of northeastern Indiana, and particularly of the Fort Wayne region. The stories that are now appearing in the *Fort Wayne Gazette* contain many valuable incidents of historic value, and supplement in many instances the chapters contained in Mr. Griswold's history of Fort Wayne.

John J. B. Hatfield, eighty-nine years old, a pioneer resident of Indianapolis, died February 20, 1921. The late Mr. Hatfield is known in Indiana history as master workman of the Government Arsenal located on the present site of Technical High School in Indianapolis. He was employed as master armorer in the old arsenal from 1862-1865, and kept an order book showing the various duties assigned to the munition employes of the old arsenal. Mr. Hatfield was largely responsible for having the government records of the old arsenal returned a few years ago and deposited in the library of the Arsenal Technical High School. The order book shows that in one

month, March, 1862, more than 6,990,000 rounds of ammunition were shipped from the old arsenal. When Morgan was making his raid across southern Indiana, Mr. Hatfield hurriedly checked out the supplies that were stored in the old arsenal, and rushed them to St. Louis for safe keeping.

The Division of Geology of the State Conservation Department, and the Indiana Historical Commission are co-operating in making an historical and archaeological survey of Indiana. These two departments acting in co-operation with the National Research Council have prepared an outline of the material that is to be included in this state-wide survey. The archeological features will include a description of the mounds, their size, shape, state of preservation, location and ownership. Also a description of specimens and articles found within the mounds will be included, and maps, drawings, and charts will be prepared in order to assist the investigator in making the survey. The material to be noted in the historical survey is to include such items as old books, diaries, antiques, letters, ledger books, old furniture, agricultural tools, transportation devices, war relics and heirlooms of historic value. In addition an effort will be made to locate historic sites, buildings, battlefields, and old churches and cemeteries, with the view of marking these spots throughout the state. Persons willing to co-operate in the survey should communicate with the Historical Commission or with the Division of Geology, State House, Indianapolis.

Philip Kabel, of Winchester, Indiana, who has been referred to as a "relic fiend", has in his possession one of the most interesting and valuable private collections of historical relics in Indiana. Recently Mr. Kabel added several important relics to his collection: One of these being a pair of eyeglasses that have rectangular lenses, and the slide in-and-out frame, worn by the very earliest settlers of the state. A second relic recently obtained by Mr. Kabel is an old Indian hammer, and a steel that was fastened on the knuckles to be used when striking flint to start a fire. This instrument is one of the oldest of the relics discovered in eastern Indiana. A third relic of historical interest was an old land grant to one Thomas Kimball for military service rendered to the United States. This grant was signed by James A. Pope, when he was

president, and made out to Solomon Yunker, assignee of Mr. Kimball. Mr. Kable has housed his museum temporarily in a room in the Farmers and Merchants Bank Building, Winchester, Indiana.

An act authorizing an appropriation of one thousand dollars (\$1,000) for erecting monuments to the memory of ex-Governor Ashbel P. Willard, and former Congressman Michael C. Kerr, was passed during the seventy-second session of the general assembly. These two men played a prominent part in the history of Indiana. Ex-Governor Willard was born in Oneida County, New York, October 31, 1820. He later settled in New Albany, Indiana. He served in turn as court reporter, member of the State Legislature, Lieutenant Governor, and in 1856 was nominated and elected Governor over Oliver P. Morton. He was the youngest man ever elected Governor of Indiana. He died while in office October 4, 1860, being the first Indiana Governor to die during his term of office. His remains were buried in the cemetery at New Albany, Indiana.

Michael C. Kerr was born March 15, 1827, Titusville, Pennsylvania. He graduated from the law school of the University of Louisville in 1851 and the following year opened a law office in New Albany, Indiana. He served as city attorney, prosecutor, member of the State Legislature, and in 1862 was elected reporter of the Supreme Court. In 1864 he was elected to Congress and re-elected three times in succession. He was defeated in the campaign of 1872. Two years later, however, he was re-elected, and in recognition of his great ability he was elected Speaker of the House. He died August 19, 1876, while a member of Congress. He, too, was buried in the cemetery at New Albany, Indiana. In tardy recognition of the services of these two distinguished men, the state has finally taken action providing for the erection of permanent memorials in their honor.

Mrs. Margaret V. Sheridan, state historian for Indiana of the Daughters of the American Revolution, has deposited in the Indiana State Library two large volumes which contain the complete records of members and relatives of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Indiana who were in military and non-military service during the World War.

Mrs. Georgia H. Binkley, of Indianapolis, has presented to

the Indiana State Library several interesting manuscripts dating from 1810 to 1812. Four letters, two from Jonathan Jennings and two from John Paul, are addressed to Solomon Manwaring, of Dearborn County, who was a member of the Territorial Council. The removal of the seat of government from Vincennes is mentioned in two of the letters. John Paul makes the following argument in his plea that it be moved to Madison:

"I flatter myself that we shall have your aid in attempting to remove the seat of Government from Vincennes. Our object is to have it removed to Madison—which is as near the Centre of population as any place we can name—from Madison to Vincennes by the way of the United States road is 120 miles. from Madison to Charles Town 30 from there to Corrodon 30 from Madison to Lawrenceburgh 52 miles from there to Brookville 25 from there to the Centre of Wayne County 24 you cannot doubt of the Correctness of this statement the distances are proven—which proves Madison in the Centre."

Lookout Point at Blue Bluffs, near Martinsville, Indiana, was recently christened "Going-to-the-Sun-Mountain," by a group of Blackfoot Indians from the Glacier National Park. The Indians spent the week of April 24-30 in Indianapolis, appearing in connection with a picture in which many of the scenes had been laid in the Glacier National Park. While in the capital city, the Indiana Nature Study Club and the Indiana Historical Commission arranged for an automobile trip to the Blue Bluffs, inviting the Indians as guests. A resolution describing the incidents of the trip, the speeches made in connection with the naming of the point, and containing the signatures of the members attending the ceremony together with the thumb-prints of the Indians, will be framed and hung in the office of the Indiana Historical Commission.

As an illustration of what can be accomplished in the teaching of English and History at the same time, the "Historical Pageant of Rensselaer", given by the English Sophomore Class of the Rensselaer High School on April 15th, was a striking example. Miss Blanche Merry, under whose direction the pageant was given, believes that State history is good material for English project. Proceeding on this theory, the class did all the research work, selected the episodes, wrote

the dialogue, and arranged every detail of the pageant in its production. As an introduction to the Pageant, the Spirit of Rensselaer appeared and appealed to the spirits of Love and Memory to come forth and recall to the living the scenes and events of the past which had made the Rensselaer of today. The spirits of Adventure, Courage, Sacrifice, Culture and Appreciation were called to aid Love and Memory. As these spirits appeared, each served as an introduction to the episode to follow. Episode VI—Ensemble—Taps, was most impressive, and a fitting conclusion to a splendid portrayal of local history. An admission fee was charged, the proceeds to go to the English Department for better English.

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New Albany, With a Short Sketch of the Scribner Family

By MARY SCRIBNER DAVIS COLLINS.

The name was originally Scrivener, a professional writer or conveyancer. The first of the name in America was Matthew Scrivener—a member of the Council of the Virginia colony in 1607. It does not appear that he had a family, but he was commended by Capt. John Smith, as a very wise, understanding gentleman. He was drowned in the James river a year or two after his arrival.

Benjamin Scrivener of Norwalk, Connecticut, is reported to be the ancestor of the Scribners in this country. From little that is known of him, and his family we learn that he married Hannah Crampton March 5, 1680, and that he had four sons of whom Matthew the youngest is the ancestor of the line to be considered. Benjamin adhered to the name of Scrivener, for, in a deed of land to his son Matthew, bearing date of September 20, 1741, when he must have been over 80 years of age, he signs it Scrivener. The town clerk, when recording the names of his grandchildren born after 1742, wrote Scribner, doubtless by direction of their parents. Nathaniel Scribner, eldest son of Matthew, married Phebe Kellogg and had a family of thirteen children, among them Joel, Nathaniel, and Abner the three brothers who settled New Albany. Not long after his marriage Nathaniel, Sr., purchased a farm in Putnam county, New York. At that time there were few inhabitants, all farmers, living at long distances from each other, and having none of the conveniences or privileges of older communities. Mr. Scribner built

a large house, not far from the church at which the Rev. Elias Kent officiated so long that the country there about came to be known as Kents Parish.

The Scribners were known to be very hospitable, and their home became the gathering place for the widely scattered members of the congregation, who came to church—not in carriage or even wagons, but on foot or on horseback. In the interval between the services many of them were accustomed to assemble in Mr. Scribner's comfortable rooms, and spend an hour in pleasant converse while partaking of the lunch they had brought with them or more frequently, that provided by their host. In this way, Mr. and Mrs. Scribner became widely known and respected as a Christian family.

When the war for independence commenced, he was one of the first to identify himself with the patriot cause. He was commissioned a lieutenant but was later promoted to a captaincy. Having early in the struggle received a wound in battle which disabled one of his arms, he was stationed with his company on the borders of the "Neutral Ground", not far from his home, and thus lost the opportunity for further advancement. It is related that on one occasion he had leave of absence, for forty-eight hours. His wife found his stockings in a very bad condition. She immediately sent one of her boys to clip the wool off a sheep, carded and spun the wool into yarn and knit a pair of stockings for the captain before the time was up. (She surely was some knitter.)

At the close of the war, society was disorganized, and industry paralyzed: more perhaps, in that section of the state than in any other, so that Captain Scribner found it necessary, in his crippled condition to resort to some other means than farming to gain a livelihood for his large family. Happily he was provided with a brain to devise and a will to carry out his plans.

He returned to Connecticut and built a tide-water flouring mill at Norwalk which he sold. He then built a larger one and a residence at Campo, on the Sound. It was so successful that he, and some of his relatives were encouraged to build a large mill at Millford, Connecticut, which, on account of a mistake of the millwright, proved a failure, and his financial ruin. As soon as his affairs were settled, Captain

Scribner began business anew, finding new fields for his activities. His plans required a journey to Georgia, and while traveling in that state, he was stricken with fever (probably yellow fever.) Unable to find proper accommodations, nursing, or medical care, he soon yielded to the malady, and died in 1790 among strangers, far from home with no friend to perform the offices of affection at his bedside while living or, after death, tenderly and reverently to commit his body to the grave. The letter announcing his death was carefully preserved by his widow and kept on her person till her death.

Four of Captain Scribner's sons were engaged in mercantile pursuits in New York city, one of them Elijah died in early manhood, leaving his property to his mother, who, with two of her daughters, established a boarding school for young ladies at Elizabethtown, New Jersey. The three sons who founded the city of New Albany were Joel, Abner and Nathaniel. In the year 1811 Joel Scribner, with his family consisting of a wife and seven children, his brother-in-law William Waring, with his wife and three small sons, and Harry, the brother of William decided to "go west". Accordingly they left New York for Cincinnati to establish a business which was to be carried on by the three partners. The Waring brothers understood the business, which was that of making leather, while Mr. Scribner was to attend to the financial part of it. The journey from New York to Cincinnati was a great undertaking in those days. Each family was furnished with a large wagon, drawn by three horses, and filled with household goods, provisions, and children. On the 17th of October the two families left Elizabethtown, New Jersey and began their long, tedious journey to the far west, as it was then called, and as it indeed was, at that time of slow traveling. They journeyed directly across the state of New Jersey, passing through "Scotch Plains", Plainfield, Somerville, and many other towns, crossing the Delaware at Carton, and traveling through the state of Pennsylvania to Pittsburgh, as that was considered the best route. A great many towns and cities have been built since that time, so only a few of them are mentioned. Leaving Easton they passed through Bethlehem and Allentown, crossing the

Schuylkill river at Reading, and the Susquehanna at Harrisburg, then journeying through Carlisle, Shippensburg, Chambersburgh, Bedford, Somerset, Laurel Hill, and Greensburgh, and at last reaching Pittsburgh.

Many incidents occurred on the journey, a few of which will be mentioned. At one town, court was in session, and it was impossible to get accommodation at the only inn, which was crowded, so they had to go on to the next village where, as it was late in the evening, there was a long wait before their supper was served. At another place there was no water to be had for the horses, and one of the travelers had to take one of their horses, hitch it to a sled, and go two miles for water. Another mishap was the loss of one of their horses, which ate too much green corn, as there was nothing else to give them; consequently they had great difficulty in procuring another, but finally found an old Revolutionary steed, which they purchased for \$15. The roads nearly all the way were exceedingly muddy, so their progress was necessarily slow, and what made matters worse, men were ploughing up the roads in places to make turnpikes, so in many places they were all but impassable. They met many large road wagons with wheels nearly a foot broad, hauled by five or six horses carrying goods across the Alleghanies to Pittsburgh, there being no other method of transportation at that time. They reached the top of the mountains about sunset, expecting, no doubt, to see a fine view, but as it was raining old Sol was in hiding, and the prospect far from pleasing. They stopped at a large stone tavern but as there were many travelers and teamsters ahead of them they had to wait till nine o'clock for their suppers but then were served with fried chicken, hot coffee and other good things, which were greatly appreciated.

They reached Pittsburgh about the first of November, all rejoiced that they were done traveling through the mud, for they intended to make the remainder of the journey by water. Accordingly they sold their wagons, sent the horses through by land, purchased a flatboat and provisions, and after fixing up the cabin, as comfortably as possible for the women and children, loaded on their goods and embarked on the untried waters of the Ohio.

They went slowly, tying up at night as the river was very low. There was a difference of opinion between the Waring brothers and Mr. Scribner, in regard to keeping the Sabbath. The former thought it was better to keep on, saving time, while Mr. Scribner, who was a "blue-stocking" Presbyterian, contended that it was breaking the fourth commandment, "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy" to travel on that day, had his way and they tied up on Sundays. They landed at Cincinnati, November 30, just three weeks after leaving Pittsburgh. They found it extremely difficult to procure a house, so many from the east were arriving daily, consequently they had to remain on the boat for five weeks before they were finally settled in a small house, on a back street.

Many other families in boats along the shore endured the same discomforts. In February 1812, the whole western country was visited by earthquakes and shocks some of which were very severe, so much so, that the inhabitants of Cincinnati were very much alarmed and some so terror stricken that they forsook their homes for the streets. It was at this time that the town of New Madrid, Missouri, was almost destroyed by them.

It was the purpose of the Warings to establish themselves as soon as possible in their business on a large and extensive scale, and they very soon began to purchase material, even before they had secured a site for their business. It was their intention also to add to their trading, boot and shoe making in all its branches, and in a short time they had a large shoe shop in operation. In order to compete with the best shops of the kind, and for the purpose of obtaining the finest material it was thought best for Mr. Scribner to go to New York and purchase such stock as they needed.

Accordingly he left his family, strangers in a strange land, and as there was nothing better than stage coaching in those days, for the traveling public, he was gone nearly all the remainder of the winter, and had the misfortune of having his pocket picked of \$800, so you see there was wickedness abroad in the land, then, as now. It must have been done by a fellow traveler, as the empty pocket book was found on the floor of the coach, with papers scattered around. Every

effort was made to find the thief, but they decided he must have left the coach before the theft was discovered.

According to the custom of the times, all men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five must "train" or "muster" as it was called either among the militia of the state, or some independent company. One of the Warings joined a cavalry company, and was made an officer and the other joined the light infantry, and soon after war with England was declared, the War of 1812. Of course the companies to which the brothers belonged had to go. This was the breaking up of the business of the firm of Scribner and Waring; consequently all had to be sold to the best advantage, and during the summer and fall it was accomplished. During the year all the troops from Tennessee, Kentucky and Indiana passed through Cincinnati on their way north, which to the children, especially, was a most interesting sight. Cincinnati, a small town when they arrived, was rapidly growing with emigrants from the north and east. At that time there were no public improvements of any kind, except a small market-house on the "bottom" east of Main street, and no wharf or other improvements on the river front. There was an old stone building on the hill, west of Main street near, and a little north, of Dr. Williams' old frame church, which had a large grave-yard in the rear.

In the fall of 1812 Mr. Scribner's two younger brothers arrived at Cincinnati and in December or January the three brothers started off on an exploring expedition, with the view of purchasing wild land and laying out a new town. When they visited the site of New Albany, with the falls of the Ohio so near, and Louisville, almost opposite, quite a flourishing town they enquired to whom it belonged, and ascertaining that the land belonged to Col. John Paul of Madison, Indiana, after some delay purchased eight hundred and sixty acres for eight thousand dollars, being nearly ten dollars per acre, a high price for wild land, at that time. They also had the sole right of ferriage across the river. They returned to Cincinnati and made arrangements for removal, and on the 2nd day of March, 1813, the first tree was cut down to make a clearing in the wilderness for the erection of a large log cabin. This spot was at the corner of

what is now, east Sixth and Main streets, and just two months afterwards the two families landed from the flatboat which had brought them down the river, and moved into the large mansion which had been built for them. As Mr. Waring had gone to the help of his country in its time of need, Mr. Scribner had to take charge of his little family. The Warings were never heard from and it was not known, by the family, whether they were killed, but it was supposed they were. Mrs. Waring afterward married again and there was no "Enoch Arden" episode.

The large double cabin of the first settlers must have been well filled with Joel Scribner, his wife and seven children and across the hall Mrs. Waring and three children and the other brothers Nathaniel and Abner. Of course, the cabin was built of green logs, entirely unseasoned and was finished as well as possible during the summer. The whole site of the proposed town was covered with a virgin forest of beech, maple, poplar and oak, with a heavy undergrowth of pawpaw, sassafras, spice-wood, green brier, and almost every other kind of shrub incident to a rich soil, so that when the leaves had obtained their full growth in summer it was impossible to see a rod ahead in the woods. The view from Kane knob west of the place, where a good view of the surrounding country could be obtained, was wonderfully beautiful. Bayard Taylor who visited our city in the 50's said he had seen many beautiful views in many lands but none were finer than those from our knobs, now called "Silver Hills". Men were procured (probably from Louisville or Jeffersonville) to cut down trees, grub out stumps and prepare for the surveyor, and the platting of the town. The man who had the honor of surveying the ground was John K. Graham, and the chain he used is still preserved by some of his descendants. William Scribner second son of Joel, thirteen years of age at the time, was in after years, proud to tell that he assisted in the work by carrying the chain.

Very soon a saw mill was built and in one year afterwards the first frame house was completed by Joel S. Scribner and the family moved into it. It is a two story and a half house, with a narrow entrance hall, and stairs also rather narrow and steep, with two rooms opening from it one at the side

and one at the rear, and back of the room is a porch the width of the house, with another one over it opening from the back room of the second story. On the second floor are three rooms and a hall, with stairs leading to a large attic chamber, which is not divided, but is as large as two rooms. The house has also a large basement dining room with a small kitchen at one end, and a door leading into a cellar at the other. This house, which is in pretty good repair, considering its age, has been purchased by Piankashaw chapter D. A. R., for a chapter house, hoping to preserve it for another century. It has been occupied by some of the Scribner family until 1917 when Miss Harriett Scribner, daughter of Dr. William Scribner and grand-daughter of Joel, was called to her reward, at the age of eighty-two years. Miss Scribner was a fine musician, and taught music for more than sixty years in the front room of the house which was called the "music room". She taught piano, cabinet organ, guitar, banjo, and any other stringed instrument that was brought to her. She also taught vocal. She was organist and leader of the choir of the First Presbyterian church for many years and, before her time, and the time when instruments were used in churches, her father Dr. Scribner led the singing, raising the tunes with a tuning fork. Most of the family were and are musical.

The first public sale of lots in the town of New Albany took place on the second and third days of November, 1813, by which time there were several log cabins along Main street, and in the course of the summer quite a number of families had moved in. Among the first buildings erected, was a large square cabin for a schoolhouse. The brothers donated the four corners of State and Spring streets for city purposes—one for a courthouse, one for a schoolhouse, the third for a city hall, and the remaining one for a jail.

The site for the schoolhouse, was afterward moved one square west, as, I presume, it was thought to be too near the jail. In later years it was used for a high school, and is still called the "The Scribner High School." Some years ago, it was taken for a colored high, and as it was getting aged the city proposed to build a schoolhouse in a part of the town where most of the colored population lived, but found that if

they moved the site the ground would revert to the Scribner heirs, so they built a new house on the old corner and it is still called the "Scribner High School." The first Scribner to be born in New Albany was Harriett, daughter of Joel and Mary, in 1815. Nathaniel Scribner made a trip (or rather a journey) to New York, by stage coach in the month of June, 1815, and when he returned was accompanied by a cousin Miss Elizabeth Edmonds whom he met while east for the first time and a year later she became his wife. The same year another brother James, and the mother, Mrs. Phebe Scribner, with her daughter Esther came to New Albany.

Mrs. Scribner and two daughters had been teaching a private school for young ladies at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and when one of them died, the mother and daughter who was left, decided to come west to be with her sons. She built the central part of a large frame house on the corner of Main and west First streets, which afterwards was added to and became a tavern, conducted by Dr. Nathan Hale who married Mrs. Scribner's daughter Esther. It is only a few months since that old building which was used for a tavern or hotel, until a few years ago, was torn down. It flourished under the name of the High Street house (Main street was formerly called High) and Commercial Hotel for many years.

At this time the capital of Indiana territory was at Corydon and as it was ascertained that New Albany was partly in Clark and partly in Harrison counties during a session of the legislature at Corydon in 1818, Nathaniel Scribner and Mr. Graham went to that place to petition for a new county, so a slice of each county was taken to form the county of Floyd named for Gen. Davis Floyd who was one of the early settlers. Mr. Scribner was ill while at Corydon and on the way home became suddenly worse and they stopped at the home of Richard Watson, a few miles from the town. A doctor and his brothers were sent for, but he died before they reached the place. So died the youngest of the three brothers in his early manhood when the town was still in its infancy leaving a young wife to mourn his loss.

It was a remarkable fact that the three Scribner brothers, after their wonderful undertaking of founding a new town,

lived such a short time to enjoy it. Joel only lived ten years after arriving, and died at the age of 51 years. Abner left New Albany, and died a few years later. Joel's wife, Mary Scribner, died of cholera in 1832.

In beautiful Fairview cemetery are the graves of Joel, his wife, his mother, his sons Harvey, William Eliphlet, and his daughters Harriett, Phebe and Mary. Mary was the first wife of Dr. Ashael Clapp, Phebe the wife of James Cooper Davis. Harriett died in infancy. A great granddaughter of Joel Scribner lives in Indianapolis, Mrs. Mabel Morrison *nee* Cobb, and also her daughter. Others live in Massachusetts. A great-grandson, William A. Shields, lives at Howard Park, between here and Jeffersonville, another, Addison Scribner, who is a brother of Mary Helen Scribner, mentioned in the narrative, lives in Louisville. A great-granddaughter, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. H. H. Collins lives at Evansville, Indiana, Mrs. John S. Henk.

There are several great grandchildren of Abner and some of Nathaniel living at different places. Charles Scribner who established *Scribner's Magazine*, New York, was a first cousin of Joel and his brothers.

The town was incorporated in 1817 by the Scribner brothers, John Edmonson, and Charles Woodruff. On the formation of Floyd county, Davis Floyd was made judge and Isaac Van Buskirk, associate; Joel Scribner, clerk and recorder; James Besse, sheriff, and Isaac Stewart, assessor. Court opened May 19, 1819. Charles Paxson, Clement Vance, Jr., and Jacob Pierroll were the first commissioners. They met first at the house of Seth Woodruff and continued to make that their official place for several years. On February 10, 1819, the commissioners "ordered that tavern keepers within the county of Floyd observe in their taverns the following rates: For breakfast, $31\frac{1}{4}$ cents; dinner, $34\frac{1}{2}$ cents; supper, 25 cents; lodging, per night, $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents; peach or apple brandy and gin, $18\frac{3}{4}$ cents per pint; Jamaica spirits, per half pint, $84\frac{1}{2}$ cents; corn or oats, per gallon $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents. (I hope this will not make any of my readers thirsty.) On May 3, 1819, Seth Woodruff was paid \$50 for building a jail and the total expenses for the first year of Floyd county government was \$208.97. The state and county tax for 1820

was \$1,210.40½. On May 24th of that year Abraham Littell was fined \$6.00 for refusing to accept the office of overseer of the poor. February 10, 1820, it was ordered that the treasurer pay William Norwood \$10 for drawing a plan for a courthouse. It was also ordered that the building of the courthouse and gaol be sold to the lowest bidder on the third Monday of March. Ordered that the above action be published in the *Indianian* of Jeffersonville and the *Gazette* of Corydon, and one notice be posted on Seth Woodruff's door. On the 20th of April (a postponed date) the job was bid off by Charles Paxson and others for \$7,860. The contractors soon discovered, however, that they had taken the work too low and abandoned it. Subsequently the people complained regarding the inconveniences. The commissioners brought suit against the bondsmen for the \$6,000 they had pledged themselves to raise, and as steps were being taken to remove the county seat, the people opened a subscription to build a courthouse. The total raised was \$3,256.00, which was thought to be enough for a good-sized house.

This building was occupied in November, 1824, but Seth Woodruff, who subscribed \$100 for a cupola and bell, failed to complete his part of the agreement until 1827 when the upper rooms having been completed at a cost of \$100 additional, the cupola and bell were added. The cost of the structure, which was used for more than forty years as a seat of county justice, was less than \$3,000.

Just here I must give a sketch of Seth Woodruff. He came here from New Jersey about 1818 and erected a large frame tavern. He is described as a large-framed, large-brained man, kind-hearted and genial. He came west with a family and with plenty of energy, physical strength and go-a-headativeness, which made his presence felt in the community. He was a man of force, a Baptist preacher, a tavern keeper, a bricklayer, and in fact, almost anything required in a new country. He served for years as a justice of the peace his picket-fence signature being a striking characteristic in the old county records. His tavern was headquarters for all kinds of business, till the erection of the courthouse in 1824.

An anecdote is related of him showing the diversity of his talents. A young physician, Dr. John Sloan, had recently arrived in the city, (1828) and was walking around getting acquainted with the place. At a place where a brick building was in process of erection, he noticed a fine looking man laying brick, and inquired of a bystander who he was. The reply was Seth Woodruff. An hour or two afterwards he passed a place where court was being held and thinking the judge had a familiar look inquired his name. Seth Woodruff, was the reply. In the afternoon he happened to pass the Baptist church, when a funeral was going on (being a doctor he was interested in funerals), so went in and was much surprised to see Judge Woodruff as the officiating clergyman.

In 1821, four years after the town was incorporated, an incident occurred which demonstrated the early strength of the feeling, which forty years afterward led to the Civil war. One day a party of men came over from Kentucky, and in broad daylight, took possession of a well known colored free man whom they claimed was a runaway slave. They succeeded in getting him to the river, and were about to put him in their skiff, when Judge Woodruff and several other prominent men who happened to be across the river saw the commotion and hastened home. The moment they landed, Judge Woodruff, who knew the man, demanded the release. The Kentuckians at first refused, but as a large and threatening crowd from the town had gathered, they were compelled to let their prey go. They did not permit the matter to rest there, however, but stood on their right of a trial to determine whether the man was a slave or not. A day was set, and the kidnappers came over with their number increased by a crowd of stalwart men, well armed. To prevent violence on their part, a company of militia, which had been formed in New Albany, was summoned to be at the trial. The man was early proved to be a free man. The Kentuckians, enraged at being worsted at law, began a commotion during which one of their number attacked Judge Woodruff. A German boy whom the judge had befriended then pounced on the man and brought upon himself the fury of the mob. His life was for a moment in imminent peril, but he was rescued by the prompt action of the militia.

By 1816 the town had slowly emerged from the forest, and numbered about two hundred. Its foundations had been laid largely in faith and prayer, Joel Scribner being a devotedly pious man, and had exercised, from the beginning an influence for truth and righteousness. When the original plat was made by the Scribner brothers, several valuable lots were reserved for the support of a Presbyterian church, and with unusual generosity, for those days, they donated to the Methodist church the site on which they erected their first church building. The growing desire for an organization of the few Christians of the Presbyterian faith living in New Albany and Jeffersonville led to a gathering at the latter place, and the organizing on the 16th day of February, 1816. The minister who officiated on the occasion was Rev. James Grady, an Irishman from Pennsylvania, who after laboring in the Carolinas and Kentucky had been commissioned by the General Assembly to do mission work and found churches in the territory of Indiana. The Lord's Supper was administered, and the following members enrolled: Gov. Thomas Posey and wife, John Gibson and wife, James M. Tunstall, James Scribner, Joel Scribner, Phebe Scribner (mother of Joel), Esther (his sister, afterwards Mrs. Nathan Hale), Anna M. Gibson. The church was destitute of any stated means of grace during the subsequent months of the year 1816, and of its history little is definitely known, further than that the Rev. D. C. Banks, pastor of a church in Louisville, and possibly others, occasionally ministered to it. Within a short time of the organization, the Jeffersonville members all withdrew. Thomas Posey and wife moved to Vincennes; John Gibson and wife, to Pittsburgh; the other Jeffersonville members united with a church in Louisville. Only the four Scribners who resided in New Albany were left.

The church having thus lost the character of a union church, it was proper that it should be reorganized and renamed. The members therefore assembled on the 7th day of December, 1817, in the back parlor of Mrs. Phebe Scribner's house, on the corner of Main and High streets. The moderator of the meeting was the Rev. D. C. Banks, by whom many of the earlier churches of Indiana were organized. It was

then resolved that as all the members of this church residing in Jeffersonville have withdrawn, the union church should from this time be known as the First Presbyterian church of New Albany. At the same time Jacob Marcell and Hannah, his wife, Stephen Beers and Lydia, his wife, and Mary Scribner, wife of Joel, were received by letter from other churches. The church proceeded to elect two additional elders and Jacob Marcell and Stephen Beers were unanimously elected and subsequently ordained and installed as ruling elders. These, together with Joel Scribner, constituted the session. The Lord's Supper was administered as is usual on organization, and as there was no communion service two large peuter plates belonging to Mrs. Scribner were used and being of very fine quality, were considered very appropriate.

In 1818 a small church building was erected, a very plain frame structure about 40 by 30 feet, with unplastered walls, and rough board floor, seats and pulpit.

It was occupied for only a few months, when it was destroyed by fire. After this, the members worshiped, for a time, with the Methodist brethren, or at the home of Joel Scribner. The congregation becoming too large for Mr. Scribner's house, they used the old courthouse, a rough unfinished building. In this year (1818) also a sabbath school was organized in connection with the church, which is believed to have been the first sunday school in the state. The distinguished honor of inaugurating this enterprise belongs to Mrs. Nathaniel Scribner and Miss Caroline Silliman. A church building of brick was finished with steeple and bell in 1830, and was considered a fine edifice for that time. It stood on a lot donated by the Scribners. At this time there was a membership of one hundred and thirty-one.

In 1832 Rev. S. K. Snead was called to become the pastor, and during his ministry one hundred and thirty-nine were added to the membership. In 1835 Mr. Snead began preaching at a private house in the neighborhood of Mount Tabor, usually on alternate sabbaths and formed a Bible class of young persons who met the sabbath afterwards and was productive of much good. In the summer of 1836 a few of the

members purchased three acres of ground and another acre was given by a man who owned the adjoining farm. This plot was set apart as a campmeeting ground and solemnly named "Mount Tabor" in commemoration of the mount on which our Lord was transfigured. Campmeeting was held here annually and sometimes twice a year until 1833, and many persons were converted and united with the city church. When the Presbyterian church was divided, the campmeetings were continued under the auspices of the Second church and a church building was erected in 1848. Owing to some differences of opinion in regard to Old School and New School (which now happily has been done away with) the Presbyterian church was divided in 1837.

Presbytery granted permission for the organization of the Second Presbyterian church to which one hundred and three members united. A committee was appointed to make an equitable division of church property. At the division the First church was left with seventy-one members. In December, 1837, the Rev. Wm. C. Anderson was elected pastor at a salary of \$800 and entered on his work the February following and the membership speedily grew to one hundred and three. Although the second year was one of financial embarrassment the contributions of the church amounted to \$2,865, including \$1,500 for the support of the pastor. A new church edifice began to be spoken of early in 1850, and preliminary steps were taken for its erection. The old church on State street was torn down and the congregation worshiped in the second story of a store room of one of the members until the fall of 1852, when they began holding services in the lecture room or chapel of the new church which had been constructed (partly) of the brick from the old church. The present building was completed, with the exception of the spire, in 1854 and dedicated in the spring of that year. The spire and bell were added some years later. The style of the church is Norman of the twelfth century, and the finish chaste and elegant, being one of the most churchly interiors in the state. The total cost was about \$35,000, and it is worthy of record that the money was raised as the work proceeded, without asking or receiving a dollar beyond the bounds of the congregation, and with very

little debt when completed. At this time (1854) the town had grown to 17,000 inhabitants with 14 Evangelical churches with a membership of 2,300 and church sittings for 5,800. Of the 4,000 children between the ages of five and twenty-one years about 1,700 were in the sabbath schools.

In 1898 the First Presbyterian church was gutted by a spectacular but disastrous fire, during which the beautiful spire was wrapped in flames and fell to the street. Only the bare wall remained. The fine organ, the communion service, the music, all were gone. There was much discussion in regard to rebuilding. Many wanted the church built in the eastern part of the city, but as it was found that most of the walls were safe, it was decided to rebuild on the old site. After heroic efforts, owing to insufficient insurance to replace the loss, the building was restored as nearly like the original as possible and is now regarded as the best auditorium in the city. The congregation, within the past year, has rebuilt the chapel, adding many rooms for the accommodation of the increasing sabbath school and for the use of women's organizations of the church. The pastor in charge (1921) is Rev. Walter T. Pearcy, a native of Canada, who is doing a good work and is greatly beloved by his people.

The first building of the Second Presbyterian church was on the corner of Main and East Third streets and was occupied by them until about eighteen years ago when a large modern church with manse on adjoining lot was built. Some years after the Second church was organized due to the rapid growth and to many of the members living in the eastern portion of the city, it was thought best to divide and the Third Presbyterian church was organized. A lot was donated by the heirs of Judge Conner, and a building erected as a mission chapel on East Ninth street prior to the division. The church prospered, and February 9, 1868, a substantial stone building was erected on the corner of Spring and East Ninth streets costing \$26,000. Rev. Charles served the church as pastor for fifty years and, by his zealous and consistent character, endeared himself to all good citizens. A church building was erected at Mount Tabor in 1838 and a sabbath school and preaching services are still held there. About three years ago the Second and Third united in one

church, and the Third church property was sold to the First Baptist church and the Second church adopted the name of Hutchinson church in honor of the beloved pastor of the Third. The present pastor is Rev. Thomas B. Geshman, DD. L.L.D.

Rev. John Shrader organized a class of the Methodist Episcopal church at the residence of Mrs. Ruff in 1817, and in November of that year dedicated the first church building in the town, on a lot donated by the Scribner brothers. In 1830 a brick building was erected. This was sold in 1854, having been used for twenty-four years, and a building solidly constructed of hard brick, 520,000 being used in its erection. With the parsonage the property is valued at \$30,000.

As Centenary Methodist church was organized in 1839, just one hundred years from the beginning of Methodism in London, in the old foundry, it was given its name. The church building is on Spring street above East Third and the parsonage is on the lot below. The building has been somewhat remodeled but stands essentially as it was erected nearly three-quarters of a century ago. It has always been well attended, and is popular with the general public. The present pastor is the Rev. J. A. Sumnold.

On the corner of Spring and east Thirteenth was built Trinity Methodist church in 1889 at a cost of \$40,000. It has a membership of about 400, and is an active and progressive church. A fine brick parsonage also belongs to this church. The present incumbent is Rev. W. H. Hargett.

Main Street Methodist church was organized about 1850 and named Roberts Chapel in honor of Bishop Roberts, but was changed some years ago. The present brick edifice was erected in 1877 and quite recently a parsonage has been added on the lot adjoining. The membership is between three and four hundred. The present pastor, Rev. W. H. Hamerton, has done a great work here and is so beloved by his people that they have insisted on his return year after year and their desire has been granted.

Calvary church, a class of German Methodists, was formed about 1850, meeting for several years in one of the public school buildings. The brick church on Spring and east Fifth

streets was dedicated in 1889 or 1890. The parsonage is back of the church on Fifth street. They have several hundred members. The name of the church was changed during the war from German Methodist Episcopal church to Calvary.

In 1865 the late Hon. W. C. Depauw purchased a building formerly used by the Episcopal church and had it moved to Vincennes street where it was long known as Kingsley Mission and Mr. Depauw was superintendent of the sunday school. This was burned in 1883 and Mr. Depauw replaced it with another building. Just as it was ready for dedication, Jennie Depauw, aged 13, died, and in memory of the daughter of one who has contributed more to Methodist enterprises than any other man in this section it was named Jennie De Pauw Memorial November 3, 1884. It has grown very rapidly and now has a large membership and the largest men's Bible class in southern Indiana, called "The Love-Wise Class." This church although it has been twice burned down and re-built, is one of the strongest Methodist churches in the city.

Seth Woodruff, who has been mentioned elsewhere in this narrative organized the First Baptist church in New Albany, about 1825. After ten years dissensions arose which led to a division, 43 members going to form the Park Christian church and in 1844 a Second Baptist church was formed. The old First Baptist continued until 1878, when its principal members united with the present organization. The church on Fourth street near Market was erected in 1879, and was used until this year when it was sold and the Third Presbyterian church purchased. It has quite a large membership and is now in a prosperous condition under the pastorate of Rev. Mr. Woods.

Park Christian church was founded May 19, 1835, by forty-three members who had withdrawn from the Baptist church. The present commodious edifice was erected in 1869 on the corner of Market street and Scribner park, and is a handsome building and the church has an increasing membership.

Central Christian society was organized in January, 1872, with thirty members and a church building on Spring near east Fifth was erected the following summer. This church

now has one of the finest buildings in the city, modern in every respect, and has recently built a fine parsonage. The membership is between four and five hundred and the pastor, Rev. H. G. Connelly, one of the most popular in the city.

Culbertson Avenue Baptist is a small church in the eastern part of the city, erected in 1889.

The advent Christian church is in a frame building in the eastern end of the city. It was built in 1819 and has a membership of about 250.

In the year 1834, the few faithful Episcopal churchmen who had cast in their lot in New Albany felt called upon to break the ground and plant the vine. Lathrop Elderkin, to whom with Elizabeth Burnett is due the credit for the enterprise, called a meeting, at the former's residence, of the citizens who were friendly to the establishment of a church in this community. This meeting was held on the evening of July 19, 1834. On the 22d day of February, 1839, a lot was purchased for a building and the committee was ordered to proceed with the erection of St. Paul's Episcopal church. On the 10th of April, 1839, the bishop laid the corner stone. In this building the services of the church were conducted until the 24th of November, 1863, when the property was sold to the Lutherans. On February 10, 1864, a lot, 60 by 120 feet, was purchased on east Main street near Sixth for \$1,300 cash, and the work of building a frame church was at once commenced. On June 1, 1865, the corner stone was laid. For nearly thirty years this was the home of the church. On June 22, 1890, the present church lot was purchased, and the work of raising funds to build a stone church commenced. On September 19, 1892, the lot on Main street was sold, and services were held in one of the frame buildings that was on the property of the new site. On the 13th day of July, 1904, the debt was paid, the mortgage burned, and the church was ready for consecration. The impressive ceremonies of consecration were held on the 27th day of April, 1905, the Right Reverend Joseph Marshall Francis, bishop of the diocese officiating. Although seventy-five years have rolled around since this parish was established, it is but a brief span in the life of a church. What will be recorded in the next quarter of a century? St. Paul's has had an historic record of which

its members may well be proud. It has sent out ministers to many parts of the country who have accomplished much. One remarkable thing connected with the church is, that one of its members, Admiral George A. Bicknell (retired), has the distinction of being the son and grandson of two previous senior wardens, all bearing the same name. The present rector is Rev. F. J. Mallett. The women of the parish are active and enterprising and have several societies, among them the Auxiliary Altar guild. The men have the St. Andrews brotherhood.

Some years ago, there was a small frame church in the western part of the city for the United Brethren denomination. For reasons unknown to the writer this church was given up, and the building used for a mission sabbath school. A few years ago, a new church was built in the eastern end of the city, and is now in a very flourishing condition. Rev. J. M. Dick is the pastor. The Advent Christian church is also in the eastern part of the city and is a frame building, which was erected in 1891. They have a membership of about 200.

The Evangelical church is one of the strongest churches in the city. It was organized in 1837 with forty-three members, with Rev. Henry Evess as pastor. Meetings were held in the schoolhouse and the old courthouse until 1843, when a church was built on State street near Oak.

In 1865 the Zion Lutheran congregation consolidated with the Evangelical and in 1870 the present handsome edifice was erected at a cost of over \$20,000. Since that time a fine sunday school building has been built next to the church, and a parsonage has been added on the corner above east Third and Spring. The interior of the church was burned June, 1882, but was immediately rebuilt and a new organ installed. The present pastor, F. A. Mensch, has been here for a number of years.

We have two large Roman Catholic churches, St. Marys' and Holy Trinity. Both are large, with fine buildings, good schools and many adherents.

We have four churches for colored people, two Baptist and two Methodist. The First Baptist, colored, purchased

the old Second Presbyterian church and is the largest of the colored churches.

EDUCATIONAL INTERESTS

The educational advantages of a city have much to do with its desirability as a residence and New Albany stands in the front rank in this particular. The founders of the town were zealous promoters of education and a permanent endowment fund of five thousand dollars was set apart, the interest of which was to go perpetually for school improvement. In the first year of development a large log schoolhouse was erected on the corner of State and Spring streets. This was also used as a place for religious worship for two or three years. Stephen Beers was the first school teacher of whom we have record. Mr. Cornelius taught in the upper part of James Anderson's shoe shop about 1820. An act incorporating the schools of New Albany was passed January 8, 1821, which placed the control in a board of managers and John A. Spaulding continued as the sole teacher for many years.

In 1838 the school was divided into male and female departments, and additional teachers obtained. As the accumulation of interest on the endowment fund amounted to a considerable sum, it was determined to erect a brick building on the corner of west First and Spring streets and a neat two story brick, known as the Scribner high school was completed in the spring of 1849. In 1853 the city assumed control of the public schools under a board of trustees and a complete system of grading was arranged. The New Albany high school was opened in 1853 with George H. Harrison in charge. The school enrollment of July, 1854, shows 1,570 pupils, with twenty-eight teachers in service, but the law to provide for a uniform system of common schools having that fall been declared unconstitutional, school progress was practically closed for a year or two. Charles Barnes was elected city superintendent and principal of the high school in 1855 and James E. May in 1857. The schools were badly disarranged during the Civil war, several of the buildings being taken for hospitals for wounded soldiers. The schools were without a superintendent for eight years following, during which time

many private schools flourished. As late as 1870, only twenty-eight per cent of the school enumeration attended the public schools. In that year the female high school was organized and new life infused into educational interests. Each succeeding year has added to the efficiency of our school system, and today all classes of citizens enjoy its privileges.

In addition to the usual funds received for school work, the annual interest of the investment has been a great aid. New Albany has kept abreast of the times in the free education of her youth, although the female high school was not organized till 1840. When a high school was first begun in 1855 girls had the upper room and boys the lower and a female teacher had charge of the girls' room, but the recitations were together, the boys coming up to the girls' room for some of them, and the girls going down to the boys' room for others, and we had devotional exercises conducted by the male teacher together in the boys' room, every morning. One of the petitions which Professor Barnes always had in his prayer, has stayed with one pupil for sixty years, it was from James, 3rd chapter and 17th verse. "Give us that wisdom which cometh from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy." There are now about fifteen schools for white and four for colored children in the city. We also have an excellent Business college where many of our business men and women have been trained.

THE PRESS

The opinions of the people are largely moulded by the newspapers; and to enterprising journals the progress of a city is often due. The press of New Albany has generally held an honorable reputation and ever been ready to advocate measures designed for the upbuilding of the place. Ebenezer Patrick started the first paper in New Albany in the fall of 1820, which continued for a year or two, and the *Microscope* begun April 17, 1824, in Louisville, was moved to this place, September of that year, by Dr. T. H. Roberts. This continued for only a year. The *Crescent* and the *Aurora* were each started within the next five years, but soon succumbed.

In November, 1830, Collins brothers, Henry, Thomas and James, commenced the *Gazette*, which, with changing proprietors, and under the names of *Gazette*, *Bulletin*, *Commercial* and *Tribune*, continued in succession until about 1870. In 1837 Thomas Collins issued the *Gazette* as a daily. Besides Collins we find the names of Mattingly, William Green, Leonard Green, Theodore Barnett and others connected with the above papers. In 1852 Collins & Green sold out to Milton Gregg, who was later assisted by his sons. J. P. Hancock was the next to revive the papers but with indifferent success. During the greater part of the Civil war no republican paper was printed here, but through the efforts of J. P. Luse, and Schuyler and Harriott the *Commercial* was started in 1864. It was sold to H. N. Gifford who continued it for several years, but finding that it was an unprofitable investment the paper was discontinued. When it was suspended the material and franchises were bought by the *Ledger* company. For a number of years afterward, the Republicans of Floyd county had to depend on the Louisville *Commercial* for politics. April, 1888, Packard and Brown were induced to start the *Daily and Weekly Tribune*. January 1, a stock company was formed with Jasper Packard as president and John W. Edmonson, secretary and treasurer. This paper still continues to be the only Republican paper in the city and is now in charge of W. S. Montgomery.

The *Argus* was started in 1836 by Dennison and Heneline as a democratic paper, this was also bought and sold several times until 1864 when Norman and Matthews purchased the plant and September 1, 1849, Norman, Morrison and Matthews commenced the *Daily Ledger*. In 1872 it was transferred to Merill and Moter and two months later it was consolidated with the *Standard*, which had been started in 1871, the new issue taking the name of the *Ledger-Standard*. Extensive additions have been made to the plant from time to time, the job department fitted with modern type, necessary machinery put in and a good bindery established, making the *Ledger* one of the most complete offices in southern Indiana. August 15, 1881, the *Standard* was dropped from the name, leaving it as it was when originally started in 1849, the *Daily and Weekly Ledger*.

The *Public Press* was commenced in 1881 by Isaiah Gravin and ran for about twenty years. The *Home Organizer* is the latest mentioned in journalism in our city, and made its first appearance February, 1892. It is an advertising sheet with free distribution, and is much used by our merchants to proclaim their wares. It also has items of interest, anecdotes and sometimes a short story, so we all like to see it, and it is read by all classes. The proprietors are Ewing and Zeller.

INDUSTRIES

In the 40's and 50's, New Albany was noted for its shipyards of which there were six or more. One owner had two steamboats built in one year. At that time it was the principal industry. The shipyards lay along the river front and that portion of the town was thickly populated. Ship carpenters in great numbers found occupation and as mechanics of a superior order they did much to create for New Albany, in her early days, a reputation for unusual orderliness and respectability. The society people of the town, at that time, were for the most part the families of steamboat officers many of whom had their homes here. The title of captain was then almost as common as that of colonel is said to be in Kentucky at the present day. In New Albany's early days as a city, many handsome residences were erected in the eastern part, and substantial growth in that direction began. In the lower part of town, ship carpenters built themselves pretty and comfortable homes so that our city was then as now a city of homes.

The early ferries across the Ohio were propelled by horses, working on a tramp wheel, and afterwards steam ferries were run by Captain Irwin and others until recent years. Now that we have two bridges across the Ohio river, we have no ferry boats here, but Jeffersonville still uses them. The records in the courthouse show that the rates were, for a four wheeled vehicle, \$.50; for a two wheeled carriage or cart, \$.37½; for each sheep, hog or goat, \$.06½, etc. The owners of the ferry made fortunes in later years from their operation. The first steamboat in 1812 to pass New Albany down the river was owned by Fulton. Two boats were built

in New Albany in 1818, the "Celno" and the "Volcano". Boat building flourished until the Civil war. Previous to the war of 1861 and 1865, New Albany enjoyed the reputation as the greatest boat building point on the Ohio or Mississippi rivers. The largest and most complete steamer built at New Albany was the great "Eclipse", 365 feet long, fifty-two beam and eleven feet engines thirty-six inches in diameter. It had a full length cabin, the most beautiful in design and finish ever seen upon western waters. It cost \$140,000, and was owned by Louisville men. The "Eclipse" gained some fame in its race with the A. L. Shotwell, coming from New Orleans to the Portland wharf below Louisville in three days, nine hours and twenty-nine minutes. Let us hope that boat building will be resumed when a nine foot stage of water is secured through the system of dams. From the boat building city of its early days New Albany has grown to be a manufacturing centre of a most varied and prosperous character, which is due to and depending on, railroad facilities.

CHARITY

About the year 1876 some of the charitable women of our city decided that we needed a home for orphans and neglected children. They formed a society for the purpose, and Mr. J. K. Woodward gave them the use of an old building on the corner of Main street and the Scribner park. It had been used as a seminary for young ladies and afterwards for a boarding house, and was in rather a dilapidated condition, but was used for a few years, when Mr. DePauw donated the use of a building at Spring and Third streets, where it remained until 1882. Finding that the inmates were increasing, so that additional room would be needed, Mr. W. C. Culbertson purchased an acre of ground in Elkin avenue and erected a large brick building, which covers about one-third of the lot. He made a free gift of it to the board of managers and it was named Cornelia Memorial in memory of his deceased wife, who had been a much interested member and officer of the board. The building will accommodate sixty inmates. The Home is situated in the upper part of the city in a beautiful, high and healthful place. Every department

of the house is kept in first class condition, and our citizens greatly appreciate the generosity of Mr. Culbertson, and the successful management of this charitable institution.

In 1873, Mr. W. S. Culbertson erected a building at a cost of \$25,000 which is located on Main and Seventh streets. It is designed for the benefit of needy and worthy old ladies. He made provision for its future maintenance, by a liberal endowment fund. The building will accommodate twenty-five or thirty persons. It is non-sectarian, and the only qualification required is a good moral character, without a home and unable to support themselves.

LITERATURE AND ART

The early settlers of the city were well up in literature and art, but its development lay dormant while the "first families" were building log cabins and grubbing out under-brush. Many Yankees settled in the town, principally because slavery was not tolerated. The South, too, contributed on account of the boat-building interests. Only a few of the early writers and painters can be given for want of space. Clement Shields, son of Patrick Shields, conducted a store in the county as early as 1804. In this store he sold books, the best of the period. He also wrote poems. He afterward came to the town and built a large home on Main street. Mrs. Emma Carlton and her sister, Miss Elizabeth Nune-macher, are great grand-daughters of Mr. Patrick Shields and both have literary tastes of a high order. Mrs. Carleton's poems and other writings are sought by many publications. Miss Mary Cardwell is a forceful writer. Mrs. Laura M. Thurston, born in Connecticut, came to New Albany when quite young. She wrote several volumes of good verse. She died in 1842. George L. Morrison was a poet and portrait painter of note. Several of the old families still have some of his works. Mrs. Mary Scribner Collins has a portrait of her paternal grandmother, Mrs. Margaret Davis, painted by him about seventy-five years ago, which is still a fine portrait. Miss Morrison wrote music as well as poetry. Mrs. Angelina Lorraine Collins, wife of Mr. James Collins, wrote a temperance story called "Mrs. Ben Darby", and she also wrote a

cook book, both of which were printed by Mr. John R. Nune-macher, and had a large sale.

Forsythe Wilson wrote "The Old Sergeant", a stirring poem of war times. He was a brother of A. E. Wilson, former governor of Kentucky. August Large, a Catholic priest, wrote two volumes of poetry while a resident of this city, which are preserved in the State library. John R. Nune-macher was the leading publisher of books in southern Indiana in the early days, and he printed numerous volumes for various authors, among them *The New Purchase* in two volumes by Baynard Rush Hall, a teacher in Indiana seminary. This book is still a classic, recounting early Indiana history. It was published in one volume in the 50's. A large number of old time authors could be mentioned, but space forbids. In recent years there have been some productions worthy of preservation. Judge John H. Stotsenburg in 1879 revised the State Statutes, a work which occupied three years. During his lifetime Judge Stotsenburg wrote a great deal for magazines.

Mr. William Vaughn Moody was a talented writer of verse, and several volumes of his work are in the city library. Mr. Harvey Peake writes and illustrates articles for magazines. Mrs. Nellie Scribner Middleton, daughter of Gen. Frank Scribner and granddaughter of Abner, one of the three Scribner brothers, has written and published several books for children. Mrs. Middleton was born and raised in New Albany, but now lives at Baltimore, Maryland.

MEDICINE AND SURGERY

New Albany has supplied a number of distinguished men to the medical profession. In the *Transactions of the Indiana State Medical Society* it is recorded "The Medical Society of the state of Indiana, met at Corydon on the 10th. The following gentlemen were elected officers viz: President, Ashael Clapp, of New Albany". This was away back in 1820 at the first meeting of the old time doctors and surgeons of Indiana. Lo! and behold a New Albany doctor was made the head of the organization, over in that early time. The physicians of our city have kept pace with the others of the state ever since.

At the present writing they are too numerous to mention. Doctors perform more charity than any other profession of men, going about the city day and night ministering to the wants of suffering humanity. Dr. Clapp, mentioned above, was a physician of international reputation. Coming to New Albany in 1817, he was the first of his profession here. He married Mary Scribner, daughter of Joel, who only lived one year. He afterwards married the widow of Nathaniel Scribner. His son, Dr. William A. Clapp, also practiced medicine in New Albany up to the time of his death in 1900. He served as surgeon of the Thirty-eighth Indiana regiment during the Civil war. Dr. Clapp's kindly face and cheery disposition will long be remembered by many of the present generation.

BENCH AND BAR

On June 29, 1816, by section 11 of article 11 of the constitution, the capital of the state of Indiana was established at the town of Corydon in the county of Harrison to remain there until the year 1825 and until removed by law. The territory now known as Floyd county, was at that time embraced within the counties of Clark and Harrison. An act of the General Assembly which took effect February 1, 1819, created the new political subdivision which was thereafter to be known as Floyd county. The county seat was temporarily fixed at the town of New Albany, and it was declared by the statute that the court should be holden at the house of Seth Woodruff until suitable accommodations can be had in said county. It was not until the year 1823 that "The seat of Justice", as it was called, was permanently established at the town of New Albany by the commissioners appointed by the act of January 10, 1823.

Under the first constitution of the state the presiding justices of the circuit courts were appointed by joint ballot of the General Assembly, and held their offices during the term of seven years, "if they shall so long behave well." The state was divided into three judicial circuits, and Floyd county was placed in the Second.

Davis Floyd, a prominent citizen of Harrison county and for whom the county was named, was made the first presiding justice of the Second judicial circuit. As the day was warm this meeting was held under a large spreading elm tree which is still preserved, and was named "The Constitutional Elm." Judge Davis Floyd was succeeded by John F. Ross in 1823; John H. Thompson, 1834; William T. Otto, 1845. The last named remained in office until the general election 1852, under the new constitution, when being a candidate for judge of the Second circuit he was defeated by Hon. George A. Bicknell. The latter held the office for several successive terms, and so satisfactory was his administration of its important duties that he was several times elected without opposition. Both Judge Otto and Judge Bicknell were eastern men, and brought to the judicial station talent of the highest order, thorough academic and university training and professional learning, that would have fitted them for any judicial position under the state or federal government. Judge Bicknell was afterwards a member of congress. Lawyers of distinguished ability and wide reputation have practiced in the Floyd county circuit court ever since its organization, some of whom were Thomas Nelson, Isaac Hauk, John M. Payne, James Collins, Randall Crawford, Ashbel P. Willard, Cyrus L. Dunham, John S. Davis, Willett Bullitt, Thomas Gibson, Thomas L. Smith, Michael C. Kerr, George Vail Hauk and Walter Q. Gresham. Many lawyers practicing in that court have been called to high positions under state and federal government. Three of them became judges of the supreme court of Indiana; Ashbel P. Willard was elected governor of the state; Cyrus L. Dunham was secretary of state and a member of congress, Michael C. Kerr was reporter of the supreme court of Indiana for several terms, a member of congress, and at the time of his death was Speaker of the national house of representatives; after a brilliant career in the army during the Civil war, in which he was made a brigadier general, Walter Q. Gresham was appointed judge of the district court of Indiana, and afterwards a judge of the circuit court of the United States, for the Seventh circuit and filled several cabinet positions.

NEW ALBANY IN THE WARS

The writer remembers all the wars since that of 1812, when New Albany was not on the map. As a small child, she remembers the Spencer Grays, a company formed here in '46-'48, who fought gallantly in the war with Mexico. It was under the command of Capt. W. F. Sanderson, who came home a colonel. Frank F. Scribner, son of Abner, was in the company. In the Civil war the Twenty-third, Fiftieth and Fifty-third Indiana regiments were organized in whole or in part in New Albany. The respective commanders of these regiments were Col. Wm. L. Sanderson, Walter Q. Gresham and Cyrus L. Dunham. The Twenty-third had a brilliant record in the field, and its survivors met every year in New Albany, in reunion to tell of the many engagements they were in during the four years of unpleasantness. The regiment was with Grant in his campaign against Forts Henry and Donelson, at Shiloh, on April 7, 1862; was with Sherman on his march to the sea, and in other engagements till the close of the war. The regiment was discharged and mustered out of the service at Louisville, Kentucky, July 25, 1865, having sustained a loss by death of 524. Frank, son of Abner Scribner, before-mentioned was captain of one of the companies, afterwards a colonel and brigadier general. Of those who served in the navy for forty years was Admiral George A. Bicknell, retired, now a resident of this city, his birthplace. He was a son of Judge George A. Bicknell. During the Civil war all the regiments from Michigan, Iowa, Illinois and other northwestern states passed through New Albany, coming down on the Monon railroad from Chicago. It was a wonderful sight and also a sad one, for we all knew that some of these gallant fellows would give their lives for the preservation of the Union, but as they marched by with flying flags and martial music the children were delighted and the windows of the houses along the way were full of enthusiastic admirers who cheered and waved to the boys.

New Albany had one big scare when we heard that Morgan's band of guerrillas had invaded Indiana. Crossing the river some miles below Corydon, they passed through that town swapping their worn out horses for fresh ones belong-

ing to the citizens, without saying "by your leave". All the farmers who could, hid their horses, but many were taken. When word reached New Albany that they were headed for our town, the Home Guards started out, and it was supposed Morgan ascertained the fact of their approach, so he changed his course and went to Salem, and from there into Ohio. That was one exciting time in our history. There are still some of the veterans of the Civil war living here, and every once in a while we read of the burial of one of them in the soldiers' cemetery which is here.

In the Spanish-American war Indiana furnished 7,421 men and a company under Captain now Colonel William J. Coleman was sent from this city. In this war one of New Albany's most gallant sons gave up his life for his country in the Philippine Islands, Col. John H. Stotsenburg.

LAST BUT NOT LEAST WE WOULD MENTION PIANKASHAW CHAPTER DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

This chapter was organized twenty-five years ago and has about fifty members. Two years ago the chapter decided to purchase the old Scribner residence as a memorial of the founders of the city. It is used for a chapter house and is to be preserved as long as possible by the chapter, we hope for another century.

FIRST THINGS IN NEW ALBANY

First tree cut down, March 2, 1813.

First log cabin built by Scribner, 1813.

First frame house, Joel Scribner, 1814.

First sale of lots, November, 1813.

First child born, Harriett Scribner, 1815.

First church, Wesley Chapel (Methodist), 1817.

First preacher, John Shrader.

First school, opposite courthouse, 1817.

First teacher, Stephen Beers.

First physician, Asabel Clapp, 1817.

First hatter, Isaac Brooks, 1818.

First tavern, Cliha Marsh kept the first tavern in the town, in a little log cabin on High street (Main), 1814.

- First jail, log, built by Seth Woodruff, 1819.
- First steamboat, the "Ohio", built 1818.
- First circuit judge, Davis Floyd, 1823.
- First sheriff, James Besse, 1824.
- First post master, Joel Scribner, succeeded by his son Harvey in 1823.
- First surveyor, John K. Graham, 1813.
- First county clerk, Joel Scribner, succeeded at his death by his oldest son, Harvey.
- First merchants were Paxson and Eastman.
- First courthouse built in 1823.
- First recorder, Aaron Armstrong, 1833.
- First bank, New Albany Insurance Co., 1832, established by Elias Ayres and Harvey Scribner.
- First newspaper, by Ebenezer Patrick, 1820.
- Incorporated as a city, 1839.
- First treasurer, William Speake, 1846.
- First county auditor, Augustus Bradley, 1846.

In writing this history I have been assisted by a record by my mother's brother, Dr. William A. Scribner, a pamphlet printed in 1892, and the Centennial Book.

Judge Miles Carey Eggleston

By BLANCHE GOODE GARBER

- 1791 Born in Amelia county, Virginia.
- 1815 Completed classical and law course.
(At William and Mary College).
- 1815 Removed to Indiana territory.
(Located at Lawrenceburg, Dearborn county).
- 1817 Admitted to bar of Franklin county.
- 1819 Elected judge of Third Judicial district.
- 1825 Re-elected judge of Third Judicial district.
- 1831 Re-elected judge of Third Judicial district.
- 1837 Re-elected judge of Third Judicial district.
- 1843 Re-elected judge of Third Judicial district.
- 1820-1834 Practiced law in Brookville.
- 1834-1837 Practiced law in Vevay.
- 1838-1842 Professor of law on faculty of Hanover college.
- 1844-1851 Practiced law in Jefferson county.
- 1851 Died at Bedford Springs, Kentucky.

The awakening interest in Indiana pioneer history, and those who made it, has brought, and is still bringing to public and private sources inquiries regarding Judge Miles Cary Eggleston, and the relationship of Edward Eggleston to him. Replies more or less correct have been given in print, but it seemed good to me, who, not a contemporary of Judge Eggleston, but a lifelong associate of his entire family, and that of Edward Eggleston, to offer in response to inquiries a sketch of the former, from original sources.

Miles Cary Eggleston was born in Amelia county, Virginia, February 26, 1791. His cousin Joseph Cary Eggleston, was the father of Edward Eggleston, the writer.

Richard Eggleston came from England to Virginia in 1633,¹ bringing his family in 1635; patented 600 acres of land in James City county in 1653, having lived in this county

¹ (Hutton) *Virginia Magazine of History*, Vol. vi, 192.

then twenty years; he participated in the fight against the Indians at the Falls of the James river, in 1656.²

This emigrant, and a later one, Miles Cary of Magpie Swamps, born in Bristol, England, in 1620, who came to the James River settlement in 1640, were the emigrant ancestors of the Virginia and Indiana Egglestons.

Miles Cary was a son of the Hon. John Cary and grandson of Hon. William Cary, each of whom was in turn mayor of his native town, Bristol, England, the latter also high sheriff in the later years of the sixteenth century.

Miles Cary patented 3,000 acres of land near Richmond, on which he lived. His colonial services were: Justice, 1652; mayor of colony, 1654; lieutenant-colonel of Warwick county, 1657; colonel and county lieutenant, 1657-1659; member of house of burgesses, 1659-1663; escheator-general of Virginia, 1665; collector Lower James River and member of governor's council, 1663-1667; "Schotte to death by the Dutch when defending Old Pointe Comfort, June 10, 1667."³

His second son, William (captain) of Mulberry Grove, Warwick county, was the head of the line through which the Indiana branches descended.

Old world traditions and new world contiguity bound these two families by intermarriages; the grandparents of the two who came to Indiana were of these two families, and the grandfathers of Judge Miles Cary Eggleston were both Egglestons, his grandmothers both Carys of these lines.

Through seven decades of the seventeenth century and all of the eighteenth the successive generations of the Virginia Egglestons grouped their homes on plantations within thirty miles of Richmond,—in James City, Hanover, Powhatan and Amelia counties. The dignity of colonial architecture graced them all, and the added charm of continuing the old home-stead as years came and went has carried the memory of several of these to the present time.

Among them are "Old Powhatan", in Powhatan county, built by a son of Richard, the emigrant; in Amelia county,

² "This I discover from the fact that the general court paid 400 lbs. of tobacco for the recovery of his horse after that defeat."—Edward Eggleston.

³ Meade, *Old Families and Churches of Virginia*, and *Virginia Magazine of History*.

"Egglestetten", the home of Major Joe Eggleston, for whom Gen. Joseph Eggleston Johnston was named, and "Locust Grove", the home of William and Judith Cary Eggleston.

These passed from sire to eldest son under the old regime. Matthew Jacquelin Eggleston, a younger son of William and Judith, received land near Locust Grove on which to build his home, as part of his patrimony. In 1789 he married Nancy Cary Eggleston, only surviving child of John and Elizabeth Cary Eggleston and located in Amelia county,—here were born their thirteen children, and here eight of the sons, and one daughter were reared to maturity. These all lived to advanced age; two sons and two daughters died in early youth.

Miles Cary, the second of the thirteen children, was born February 26, 1791. His mother's only brother died young, and in her centered the educational ambitions of her parents. The advantages of home culture, tutors, schools and travel were showered on her in a measure seldom bestowed on daughters, in those days. The English church was the faith of her fathers, and in this she was reared. It was her pleasure to pass on to her children the best of all she had received. They were her companions, and shared with her the religious, literary and cultural pursuits of a Virginia dame of the period. Her bedtime stories were from the classics, in prose and poetry, memorized by her and by the children from her recitation, and these were their familiar nursery tales. Neither was the father disobedient to the educational vision, but fully shared the responsibility of the moral and intellectual development of the youth of the family.

Miles Cary Eggleston's early years of home nurture were followed by several years in the schools of Richmond, and a classical and law course in William and Mary college, Williamsburg, Virginia, of which George Washington had so recently been a chancellor; which Thomas Jefferson, Chief Justice Marshall, and others of worth and well merited reputation claimed with pride as their Alma Mater.

The quality of his scholarship is indicated by the following letter received by Edward Eggleston not a great while before his death; the writer was an entire stranger to him as the text implies:

Saundersville, Pennsylvania,
June 20, 1884.

REV. EDWARD EGGLESTON,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir: I wish to know if you are the son of Judge Eggleston, formerly of Indiana. I am seventy years of age, was born in Hanover county, Virginia. My father was the preceptor of Judge Eggleston, for whom he manifested a pride bordering on that of Weems for his distinguished pupil, Washington. Please excuse my curiosity, and reply if affirmatively, otherwise no answer is expected. With thanks for the pleasure and instruction in your writings,

Respectfully yours,

J. O. HARRIS.

On the completion of his law course in 1815, at the age of twenty-four, impelled by a deep conviction of the wrong of slavery, the subject of this sketch left his native state and chose for his future home Indiana territory, because it was irrevocably committed to anti-slavery doctrines by the Ordinance of 1787. When in 1839 he came into his inheritance from his father, consisting largely of slaves, he freed them all.

He, only, of the large family of which he was a member, sought a northern home. The rest lived and died in southern tide-water and gulf states, save for protracted sojourns with their northern brother. The sister married Edward Baptist, a Baptist minister, founder of the college of that denomination in Richmond, Virginia. Five brothers lived as southern gentlemen on their plantations; three were professional men; Charles, a physician; Hugh, a lawyer and judge of New Orleans; and Judge Miles Cary of Indiana.

At that time, the Northwest territory was, so far as communication of all kinds was concerned, further from Virginia than China is today. Among the papers of Judge Eggleston is a letter from his father, written on the death of his infant daughter, Virginia, in 1826, full of fatherly sympathy and Christian consolation, which begins with the statement that the letter containing the "heart-breaking message of the loss of the dear babe has just been received, fifteen days after date."

The young home-seeker on crossing the border into free-soil territory entered at once the practice of law at Lawrenceburg.

Statehood was trembling on the rise when he came to Indiana territory, and abundant reason existed for trembling. The Napoleonic agitations were making the whole world nervous, with its currents in America centering largely in the Northwest territory. Though the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814, closed the War of 1812, news of it traveled slowly. Through the early months of 1815 Indian warfare continued, fomented more or less by British influence. It was September 8, 1815, that the Treaty of Spring Wells, near Detroit, was concluded, by which western Indian tribes agreed to place themselves under the protection of the United States, "and no other power". The year 1816 was the first when peace was actually established in the territory. This had weight which made it possible to carry statehood, with all the wavering of the 64,000 tax-frightened inhabitants. The new status increased the population in numbers, strengthened the scattered settlements, relieved instead of increasing taxation, and the promise of great prosperity which surrounded the infant state was speedily realized.

This transition brought to the young southerner ample material reward for his heroic renunciation of his old home for the sake of principle. Still, frontier conditions were on every side, villages were few, and these were filled with Indians, not always dependably friendly,—trading game, peltries, quill adorned moccasins for trinkets such as the settlers possessed. The people were a hardy, reckless frontier population, relying on their own prowess, and the strong arm of the law to right the crimes in which they more or less gloried. Virginian of the Virginians as he was, he often had to adapt himself anew to conditions, but he had acquainted himself with them as far as possible, and they disturbed him less than he did them apparently. Queues and moccasins marked the social etiquette of the floor of the court,—the ruffled shirt front and immaculate white stock of the judge on the bench jarred it quite perceptibly. This was his invariable attire, and the memory of it is preserved by a portrait of him, now one hundred years old, painted in 1821, the year before his marriage, still as fresh as when it came from the artist's brush.

In the contact of the polished Virginian and the frontiersmen from everywhere, two civilizations met, mending the latter, and not marring the former. He would well have fitted the Indiana of today, but filled the need of the Indiana of that date.

Physically he was of average height and weight, with abundant brown hair which in age showed scarce a shadow of turning gray; his blue eyes keen and laughing; his complexion fair, with a glow of healthful color; his habits always temperate, his gastronomic tastes those of an epicure; his smooth shaven face, and teeth regular and unsullied by tobacco, which he used in no form, gave him to the last a youthful appearance. This is the testimony of his family, who say also that he was never known to raise his voice, or otherwise lose his poise, considering gentlemanly demeanor the part of the man of culture as surely as of the judge on the bench. Statements occasionally published that he was small in stature, somewhat eccentric; of delicate health, and at times inclined to be pedantic are the nearest approach to criticisms of him, and they are not of importance, but are without foundation in fact,—made perhaps originally by unlettered frontiersmen of more brawn than brain, who had not the power to comprehend the man of letters, himself a student, and of a long line of lettered men and women.

Hunting and riding behind the hounds possessed for him an irresistible fascination. To within a short time of his death, at the age of sixty years, the bay of the hound on the trail of a fox, or the bark of a dog after a treed coon brought him to the saddle at any hour of the day or night, and no one gloried in the chase more than he. His failing health in latter years was due to excessive devotion to his profession, and the exposure it entailed in earlier years, under pioneer conditions.

He entered the practice of law at Lawrenceburg in 1815, leaving there in 1817, when he was admitted to the bar of Franklin county. He was prosecuting attorney of Franklin county from 1818-1821; judge of the court, 1819-1847. These dates are taken from Reifles *History of Franklin County*, they differ a little from those given elsewhere, but agree approximately.

He was elected presiding judge of the Third judicial district of Indiana in 1819, taking his seat January 21, 1820; re-elected in the years 1825, 1831, 1837, 1843. Resigned in 1844. He presided at the first term of court held in Ohio county, December 4, 1844.*⁴

Hon. Oliver H. Smith says in the opening chapter of his *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*:

I will confine myself to the Third Judicial district, and to the time when the Hon. Miles C. Eggleston was Presiding Judge of the circuit. At the March term of the Dearborn county circuit court, Judge M. C. Eggleston took his seat on the bench, as successor to the Hon. John Watts. The judge was a young Virginia lawyer, a cousin of the Hon. William S. Archer, of the United States senate. He was a fine scholar and a well read lawyer. His integrity and moral courage were above suspicion, while his impartiality commended him to the approbation of all. He will long be remembered by the writer, one of the younger members of the profession, for the judge was ever willing to hear all that could be said by the humblest member of the bar, and when he decided, even against him, his manner gave courage to increase preparation for the next case. I received my license to practice law from his hand, and after a short examination in person. His remarks in signing the license made a deep impression on me. My means were exhausted, and it was a matter of life or death with me. The judge kindly remarked: "Mr. Smith, I will sign your license, but you are only prepared to commence the study of law; don't be discouraged, but persevere in your studies, and you may yet stand high in your profession."

In *Courts and Lawyers of Indiana* it is stated that Judge Eggleston succeeded Judge Test as presiding judge of the Third circuit January 21, 1820, and the comment is added: "Judge Eggleston was the best known trial lawyer of early Indiana, if he has had a superior at any time, in any state." Also, "As a judge he was eminently fair." The same authority, in speaking of the celebrated Fuller-Warren trial says: "The judge, M. C. Eggleston, was trained in Virginia and somewhat aristocratic, but firm, fair and kindly. All sympathized (with the prisoner), but according to evidence the verdict of 'guilty' was pronounced by Judge Eggleston. * * * The instruction of the judge fell like the pronunciamento of a fatal oracle. All possible was done to avert the

* *Ohio County History*, 119.

doom, but the prisoner was executed." This was in the Dearborn county court, March, 1820.

In this year Judge Eggleston opened an office in Brookville. Here he bought a house and established a home, on his marriage March 10, 1822, to Miss Elizabeth Sutherland of Brooke county, Virginia. Elizabeth Sutherland was educated in Hamilton, Ohio; was a sister of John Sutherland, of Indianapolis, and of William Sutherland, of Laporte. The marriage was solemnized at the home of the sisters of the bride, in Salisbury, at that period the county seat of Wayne county.

In this Brookville home their four children were born: Guilford, Virginia, Eliza (Mrs. Samuel Mackarness Goode), and Henry Clay.

David Wallace, then a graduate of West Point, later governor of the state was among the students who passed to the successful practice of law from the tuition of Judge Eggleston, while in Brookville. Judge Advocate William McKee Dunn was also one of his law graduates.

The frequent re-districting of the state brought new counties into the Third district, and the family residence was changed as business demanded. It was in Brookville until 1831; in '31 and '32 in Madison; in '33 and '34 Brookville again; in '34 and '35 Madison; '35-'37 Vevay. During Judge Eggleston's residence in Vevay he was joined by his cousin, Joseph Cary Eggleston, also of Virginia, who having read law in Richmond came as he had done, to a free state as a protest against slavery. His four children, Edward, George Cary, Jane Lowry (Mrs. Charles Zimmerman, of Evanston), and Joseph W. Eggleston, now of Richmond, Virginia, were born in Vevay.

In 1838, Judge Eggleston accepted the professorship of law on the faculty of Hanover college. In 1842 he resigned the chair, as the double duties of college professor and circuit judge became too arduous for his years; he was then a man of fifty-three. In 1844, he resigned the judgeship, but continued the practice of law, being admitted to the bar of Jefferson county, March 24, 1845.

After a short residence in Madison, '42-'46, he bought a farm at Dupont, the southern high lands of the state being then considered the only healthful region in which to locate.

His brothers, who had acquired wealth, and lived easily on their plantations used every persuasion to induce him to buy land in Virginia and slaves to till it, and spend the remainder of his life in ease, but his devotion to his chosen profession, and his anti-slavery principles were as unswerving in age as they had been in youth, and he could not consent to return to life under the old condition.

Years of close application to professional duties and exposures during the quarter of a century he rode the circuit under pioneer requirements had impaired his health. Leaving the farm in the care of his wife and elder son he went to Bedford Springs, Kentucky, for the heated term of 1851. He was accompanied by his younger son, who tenderly cared for him, the end coming unexpectedly while there, July 19, 1851. He was buried from the home of his daughter in Madison, where in 1915 her life closed, just one hundred years after his coming to Indiana, the last of his immediate family. He lies buried in the family lot in Fairmount cemetery, at Madison.

In the above home, and in others within a radius of less than a quarter of a mile, live three generations of the descendants of Judge Eggleston.

In 1851 the state was in its prime; in 1815 when he adopted it as his home it was in its infancy. Through its formative period his influence had done much to determine the character of its judiciary, and there is abundant evidence that the bar of Indiana ranks high among those of the states of the Union.

The Third judicial circuit when he was its presiding judge included about half the state, the whole Whitewater district from Jefferson county to the state of Michigan north and south, from the Ohio state line to White river, two hundred miles by seventy-five in extent. It was an unbroken stretch of Indian-haunted wilderness; silent, somber, solemn; timbered till daylight was dark as night beneath the shadowing boughs of this forest primeval.

In the whole territory there was not a road, not a bridged stream. The circuit must be ridden twice a year, when court was in session, regardless of weather. Sometimes floods made the streams dangerously full for the horses to swim,

but swim they must. At times the horse lost his footing and horse and rider both must swim, and ride for hours perhaps, carrying watersoaked saddlebags with their dripping contents. Again drouth dried the streams till search for drinking water for horse and rider was a weary one. The prosecuting attorney and other lawyers rode the circuit with the judge. Among them was a *bonne camaraderie* which cemented friendship through the years, and to which thanks are due for many a pen picture of men of the past. There was protection in numbers, though Indians and frontiersmen alike, were often in the clutches of the law and held the court in a certain reverent awe which was its own protection.

Judge Eggleston had a keen sense of humor, was cheerful and companionable. He was sensitive to a degree which caused him to suffer acutely when a death sentence was pending in court, yet he never shirked a duty to shield himself. As many as nine penitentiary sentences and four for capital punishment are reported on one circuit.

The sentence of Hudson for the massacre of a peaceful party of Seneca Indians on the banks of Fall creek in 1824, was pronounced by Judge Wick, but the trial of the other three murderers was in Judge Eggleston's court. Oliver H. Smith tells us that as the boy, his father, and his mother's brother, stood before him to receive the death sentence, "The face of the Judge was pale, his lips quivered, his tongue faltered as he addressed the prisoners." The sentence of death by hanging was pronounced, but the usual conclusion, "And may God have mercy on your soul" was left struggling for utterance. At the final moment, after witnessing the execution of his father and uncle, Governor James B. Ray pardoned the boy. The historian writing in 1857 adds, "Thus ended the only trial where convictions of murder were ever had, followed by execution of white men for the murder of Indians in the United States."

Politically Judge Eggleston was a Clay man, but absolutely fair. He named a son for him, and when Henry Clay spoke in Madison he introduced the speaker, yet he stoutly maintained in open court that he believed that a Jacksonian was just as honest as a Clay man, and would no more perjure himself to acquit a Jackson man than a Clay man would to

convict him. He was on the bench of Franklin county court when a prisoner was fined one thousand dollars for calling a man a Federalist. The entire court agreed that to call a man a Federalist was libelous, and actionable.

In religion as in law Judge Eggleston was a man of genuine convictions and broad views. Reared in the Episcopal faith; educated at William and Mary college when it was under control of that denomination he continued his connection with it; was a member of Christ's Church congregation, Madison, and a vestryman of the parish. As in politics he was free from bigotry. His attitude toward life was one of serene content. His life had been a well ordered, successful one, a fact that he and his contemporaries could not fail to recognize.

This is evidenced by unquestionably honest expressions of it while he lived and through the near three quarters of a century since his day. John Lyle King, a lawyer of ability, known more or less throughout Indiana and in Chicago, says: "Foremost on the bench of the circuit court of eastern Indiana was Miles Cary Eggleston, an acute, learned and incorruptible judge." William Wesley Woolen spoke of him as a good lawyer, and one who never forgot the dignity of his station.

From an old manuscript of John M. Johnson, an old time resident of Brookville the following is taken:

Miles C. Eggleston, perhaps the leading jurist at that day, and about whom the historians say remarkably little, although he was presiding judge of the Third judicial circuit for more than twenty-one years, was a good-looking gentleman, rather below the middle size, with a good head, leaning a little to one side; with ruffles protruding from his shirt bosom, well dressed. * * * He had a liberal education, and was a good Latin scholar; he was not a great advocate before a jury but eminently qualified for a judge, and was justly regarded as the best in the state. His charges to the jury were clear and clothed in fine language, and listened to with the utmost attention. The people of the county had such implicit confidence in him that they would quote his decisions before those of the Supreme court. * * * He observed the utmost decorum in court, and made the lawyers keep their places. There was no slipping to the judge with a paper and holding a private conversation, and no lawyers leaning on each corner of the judge's seat.

But by his own words he will best be known. Embalmed in his words of affectionate appreciation, his mother, who

lived but one year after he left the old home, is today an inspiration to his descendants. His ideals of life pervade the following letter to his fifteen year old daughter, then away at boarding school; it is addressed:

Madison, Indiana, November 27, 1843.

MISS ELIZA A. EGGLESTON,

Kalorama, near Louisville, Kentucky.

MY DEAR DAUGHTER:

It is with no little pleasure I acknowledge the receipt of your last letter today. It is in every way gratifying. It evinces that you have been both attentive to your studies, and sensible of the advantages you can and ought to derive from the opportunities you possess with your capable instructors, and your intercourse with the sensible and amiable lady who watches over the education of your heart and manners,—a consciousness of this other value of it is the first step to real permanent improvement.

I am glad to hear you speak of the heart as well as of the head. A woman without a heart, a warm "glowing heart of sympathy" is a something which can just be tolerated, nothing more. If nature has not endowed her with a sympathetic temperament she should from policy try to counterfeit a lively sensibility to the interests, joys and sorrows of others. The show of this, like sterner sentimentalities is, more winning and will make friends, if not lovers. I felicitate you on the improvement of your style and orthography. This is very visible. You now write *currante calamo*, smoothly, and easily to yourself and reader,—the great beauty of epistolary writing. If one knows the English grammar well, and the right sense of words one can have little perplexity in writing well,—with reading and conversation. We all know the belle-lettre languages, *tant mieux*, they may serve as ornaments, like fine ribbons, or jewels in an Indian's nose, or a garnish to an insipid dish.

I acknowledge that you have just cause for complaint against your brother for not writing to you. His apology is,—how true I don't know, that you show his letters even when he intends them to be confidential. If he is not mistaken, you have erred. The confidence of private friendship should be kept sacred. This is a high point of honor with the world. Private letters which contain our nearest and dearest secrets, which come "warm from the heart, and faithful to its fire," are never to be exposed to the scrutiny and criticism of others, unless with the consent of the writer. There are some friends we may allow to read them, or some part of them, without impropriety, unless otherwise directed. My own opinion is that your brother Guilford has no just ground for complaint. He is from home now. He went last week with Cousin Joe to New Orleans. It is doubtful whether or not he will return this winter.

Your Uncle Hugh writes he has just recovered from an attack of yellow fever. He was absent some time at a watering place, but returned

too soon, and took the epidemic. He says it has cost him about one thousand dollars, which a few fees this fall will soon make up. He still defies the assaults of "awful beauty," even when it "puts on all its arms,"—patches, paintings, laces and all that.

Some, it would seem, prefer philosophy to a Juliet. It may be they take it as an alternative. This is the most charitable view.

Your Uncle John says Brother Charles is in South Alabama, and has a good practice. He does not speak of the latter's Dulcinia del Toboso. When with us he was about ready to woo and be wedded by proxy. I hear of no marrying and giving in marriage with us at this time.

Mr. Paine's great pork house, near the river, with four others, burned last week—a great deal of pork and lard lost. Pitcher lost about one thousand dollars, and Mr. Wharton about the same, among others. Mr. Cravens, I heard, came near losing his life. In falling from the third story of one of the houses, he was saved by being caught by the hair.

I send you and little Mag^s a box of bonbons, sweet things, but not half so sweet as she is, and all good and amiable girls like her, and my dear Eliza.

I cannot express too strongly my gratification at Mrs. Smith's account of your conduct and behavior. She is, I doubt not, a most estimable lady and preceptress for young ladies. Her feeling is more maternal than I had thought, even, and therefore of more value to you. Can't you approach her more confidently and freely as a daughter, a kind mother, and catch the glowing spontaneous effusions of her sympathetic heart to comfort and console you in your homesick hours. It would teach much—of more worth than books. *Mauvais honte* is a vulgar feeling and should be subdued, if possible,—it acknowledges an inferiority, which you ought to feel to no one, unless for higher worth and wisdom. Return to the lady for me, my sincere thanks for her kind interest, and her attention to you.

We shall find some suitable way to have you with us at Christmas. We want to see you as "awfully" as you want to see us. Your mother will give you her reason for not writing when she sees you. She says to tell you it is not because she does not love you. She tells me to send her love by this. Henry is well. He took your letter to the window and read it with a smiling face. He is now out among the "merry throng," I suppose.

My regards to Miss Margery, and a father's love to you.

M. C. EGGLESTON.

You may let any friend you wish read such parts of this as you wish them to see.

The closing permit, and the lapse of years make it no trespass to now give to the public this picture of the intimate home life of long ago. The letter is sealed with wax, without

⁵ Margaret Lanier, daughter of J. F. D. Lanier, Eliza's room-mate.

postage stamp, but with pen and ink acknowledgment of twenty-five cents postage paid.

Mrs. Bessie Hubbs Woolford, who was a member of "The Western Association of Writers", and known for the music of her words, joined to an appreciation of all that was fine in life, wrote under the caption, "The Value of Oral Tradition", as follows:

My uncle, the late Captain John H. Oglesby, who came to Madison from Kentucky with his parents in 1814, was a great admirer of Judge Eggleston and often quoted fragments of his speeches.

One cold winter night a small party of Madison's "prominent citizens" were gathered around the stove in a store on Main Cross street (it then was), Judge Eggleston being one of the number. Several of them were professional men, and each in turn paid tribute to his chosen calling. Judge Eggleston sat apart, his hat pulled down over his eyes (which shows their manners were much as those of the present day).

They spoke out of a cloud of tobacco smoke. I'm not sure Judge Eggleston smoked; I know my uncle did. It isn't easy to remember what somebody said some one else was doing at a particular time more than sixty years ago.

Presently it was the Judge's turn to speak, and there fell upon the ears of his listeners in that smoke-filled, tallow-candle-lighted room, such a magnificent spontaneous tribute to his profession—such a flood of eloquence as many a time had moved his hearers and influenced stern-visaged jurors to render a verdict directly opposing their previous convictions. I regret that only the closing words of his fine peroration remain in my memory:

"The Law is the light of the land! It illuminates the palace of the rich, and shines in the cottage of the poor! It guards the hovel and the throne, and watches by the cradle and the grave! It is the Avenger of Wrong, the Strength of Age, and the Protector of Innocence! It arms the weak with power, and wrests from Wealth its unrighteous immunity!"

It is twenty years since I heard these words,—repeated by one who heard them spoken before I was born. But today when I see or hear the name of Judge Eggleston, his splendid tribute to the majesty of the Law stands out in letters of light against the shadow of oblivion that wraps his eloquence.

The Fugitive Slave Law In Indiana

By CHARLES H. MONEY

(Concluded)

II. THE WEST CASE

The second most important case during the decade before the Civil war was the West or Weston case. The litigation over West differed from that over Freeman in many particulars. West was a fugitive who had been captured by his master's slave hunter in the state of Illinois. The trial happened in Indianapolis because of the legal action taken by a company of abolition lawyers led by such men as George W. Julian, John Coburn and others. West was being taken through the city on his return to Kentucky, when legal battle was commenced by these abolition leaders for his liberty. He was not, therefore, a resident of the city, nor was it ever disclosed that he was or ever had been a free man because of any free papers. He seems to have been known to no one in the city excepting the colored population, who appeared to be much exercised and excited by his arrest. Some of these talked a great deal of rescuing West, but he was finally lodged in jail to await a hearing. The contest was purely a legal battle throughout. The abolitionist lawyers had planned to do one of three things, if possible. First, they intended to do their best to liberate West. Second, they were for attempting a rescue, if they should fail legally to liberate him. As a corollary, they had it in mind to delay action in the trial in every possible way in order to make it cost the claimant the value of his slave or more. By making it cost the claimant a great deal, the abolitionists felt that they could discourage slave hunting in Indiana, and at the same time make every slave master fear to return with his fugitive through Indianapolis, because of the intimidation he might be sure to encounter from them. All the abolitionists of the city, and they were numerous, both lawyers and non-professionals did their work gratuitously for the purpose of defeating the fugitive slave law and because of their hatred of the institution of slavery. Julian, their

acknowledged leader, had been in the house of representatives when the bill passed congress. He had voted against it and had, ever since its adoption, denounced it. He had been the free soil representative from the Richmond district and the leader of abolitionism at Centerville, the old county seat of Wayne county, before coming to Indianapolis to practice law.

West was the slave claimed by Austin W. Vallandingham of Kentucky. As has been said, Vallandingham's agent had captured West in Illinois and was passing through the city on his way to Louisville over the Madison and Indianapolis railroad. While resting here with his captured slave, waiting for a train to bear him to the southern shores of the Ohio river, proceedings were instituted, in the city courts, against Vallandingham on the charge of kidnapping a free negro.

The lawyers for the claimant were J. Roberts, R. L. Walpole, and T. D. Walpole. Those prosecuting the case were Ellsworth and Colley, John Coburn and George W. Julian. The case was tried in the court of Judge William J. Wallace, in December, 1857. The affidavit was filed in this court by Samuel Williams, a colored man.

When court convened to hear the case, the lawyers began wrangling as to whether Williams, a mulatto, could file an affidavit against a white man. Ellsworth said that an affidavit might be filed by a negro, a mulatto, or an Indian. The testimony to establish the facts sworn to in the affidavit was on the trial of the cause. He continued:

A negro might file his affidavit making a charge, while on the hearing of the cause, he might be excluded from giving testimony against a white man. As to the residence of the negro, it was not material at what time he got into the state, or what penalties were imposed upon him for coming in, he was here and feeling himself aggrieved, wronged and insulted he had filed the affidavit. He must be heard in any court throughout the state of Indiana. Whether the negro, Samuel Williams, had been in the state one day, or one year, or five years, he was entitled, whether regarded as a citizen or not, to sue for justice against aggression.⁵²

T. D. Walpole said that the testimony of Williams, a negro, was incompetent and illegal where a white man was an interested party and that he could not testify unless by the consent of the parties interested and such consent had never been given. Further he asked:

⁵² *Daily Sentinel*, Dec. 4, 1857.

Who has the right to make an oath? No negro or mulatto could testify by affidavit unless violence had been done to him individually. The right of a negro or of a mulatto to institute a proceeding in the courts of Indiana, coming as the negro Williams did into the state since 1857 in contravention of the constitution, is denied. He has no rights whatever in our courts where his own person had not been infringed. He is a violator of the laws of Indiana. He is no part of the sovereignty of Indiana. He is excluded from the state and he came into it in defiance of the constitution which his honor had sworn to maintain and support. No outside nigger could come into any Indiana court filing such an affidavit as this against a free white citizen of the United States. A vagrant negro instigated by others, if this affidavit was allowed, might put in jeopardy the rights, privileges and immunities of any white man. His Honor himself would, by any decision affirming this negro's oath, put himself in the power of any strolling African. This was a government of white men, constructed for their own happiness, and no negro, no vagrant and strolling negro in defiance of the constitution and laws coming into the commonwealth, could infringe on the rights of the citizens.⁵³

It was up to Judge Wallace to decide this wrangle concerning the affidavit of Samuel Williams. This he did in the following four points:

(1) At common law, negroes, unless slaves, are universally allowed to testify. A man's color has nothing to do with his testimony.

(2) Common law rights or natural rights may be restricted by an express statute, but such restrictive statutes are to be strictly construed. Just the restriction they give is to be taken but no more.

(3) The Indiana statute of 1853 prohibits negroes having one-eighth or more of negro blood, from testifying as a witness in a cause and no more. Being a witness is one thing and simply filing an affidavit is another and different thing and the true rule is undoubtedly laid down by Judge McDonald as follows: "In all cases, both civil and criminal, where affidavits are necessary, either for the institution of a suit or its continuance, or for any other purpose whatever, such affidavit may be made by an Indian, a negro or mulatto."

(4) Our supreme court has decided, "That the state is not a person of any particular color." Now, the object of an affidavit, in cases of felony is to inform the state that an offense has been committed against her and her laws, and as the state is of no color, it matters not what may be the color of the one who informs her by affidavit. The state has a right to demand and receive information, under oath, of offenses against her, from any source whatever.⁵⁴

The judge's decision was against the claimant on the question of permitting the affidavit to stand. Ellsworth, in an

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Weekly State Journal*, Dec. 10, 1857.

endeavor to gain time made a motion for a continuance of the trial for thirty days on the affidavit of Williams. The court overruled the motion for a continuance and this seemed to please Vallandingham, because shortening the time meant less expense to him. When the court reconvened in the afternoon R. L. Walpole appeared with Vallandingham. Ellsworth appeared for the state. Major Wallace announced his determination to go into the case. The state through Ellsworth entered a *nolle prosequi*, finished the matter and the negro was discharged.

After his discharge by Judge Wallace, West was arrested by Jesse D. Carmichael, United States deputy marshal, acting upon papers filed by the claimant, Vallandingham, before United States commissioner John H. Rea. The same attorneys were acting that had participated in the kidnapping trial preceding. West now had to prove himself a free man. T. D. Walpole opened for the claimant, saying that the case was a question of proving the validity of the proceedings of the claim and capture of West. To warrant extradition this was all that was necessary.⁵⁵

Mr. Coburn moved to quash the warrant, on the ground that there was no allegation in the indictment showing that West was Vallandingham's slave at the time of his escape. He said that the documents issued by the court of Franklin county, Kentucky, for identification were not proper certificates and they were without seals. Walpole contended that seals and certificates were not necessary in the case. All that was needed was identification and a warrant.

Julian said the affidavit was defective, because the name of the negro was not given, but was supposed to be West or Weston. Further it did not show that West escaped from Kentucky,—it mentioned his escape from his master at Louisville. Vallandingham and his agents had wrongfully deprived the alleged slave of his liberty and had violated the constitution of Indiana in bringing a negro into the state, for the constitution, article XIII, section I, specifically says, "No negro or mulatto shall come into or settle in the state, after the adoption of this constitution."

⁵⁵ *Weekly State Journal*, Dec. 3, '57.

On the second day Walpole claimed the affidavits proper in form, having the proper signatures and certificates attached. Julian contended that the form was wrong, that there was no state of "Kentuck" in the United States. "The uncertainty of the name of the alleged slave was very probable evidence that the claimant had wilfully sworn to a lie."

The court overruled the motion to quash the warrant and stated that "whatever might be the defect in the case he would hear evidence to prove the claimant's right to the alleged slave, and not deliver him to the reputed owner without the owner proving that the negro owed him service."⁵⁶

Coburn argued that West was a free man, because he had been and was now on free soil. He claimed that West had worked on a steamboat, called Blue Wings, which had plied up and down the Ohio river and had landed at different points in Indiana. He was, therefore, under the civil and criminal jurisdiction of Indiana and as Indiana's constitution prohibited slavery and involuntary servitude he was a free man. West had been brought into Indiana by his master while working on the steamboat ten years before, he was again brought into Indiana by action of his master and "the moment a slave touches our soil he becomes free."

Coburn said:

In the Dred Scott case, the supreme court said that a slave was free when taken into a free state by voluntary action of his master, but became a slave when going back into a slave state. The alleged fugitive, now before the commissioner, was brought into Indiana by his reputed master and was free according to the decision in the Dred Scott case. The supreme court of the United States is governed in cases similar to the present one by the laws of the state where the cause is heard. It is a question with the commissioner to determine whether the law of Kentucky or Indiana should prevail in our commonwealth.

Walpole replied:

Slaves in Kentucky might be held by prescription (West had been owned by the claimant for twenty years) they might be acquired by descent, they might be transferred orally by actual delivery. Slavery existed by the common law in that state. In that state—in that forum alone—could the question of title be determined. All the commissioner had to determine was the identity of the negro and whether a probable and reasonable claim had been made out against him. The fact that West

⁵⁶ *Indiana State Journal*, Dec. 3, 1857.

had fired a steamboat, which touched at points in a free state did not make him a freeman. Congress under the federal constitution regulated commerce between the states and under the laws of congress, and not under the laws of Indiana or Illinois were the rights of the master to be determined.⁵⁷

The powers of the commissioner were ministerial and not judicial. The identity of the fugitive is the question for decision.

Fugitives are delivered up under the fourth article of the federal constitution and a commissioner was an auxiliary officer to carry out this provision of the constitution. The question of freedom or slavery could not be determined before a commissioner any more than the guilt or innocence of a person charged with crime. The constitution of the United States would never place in the hands of one man the freedom or slavery of an individual. Such a question must be determined by a jury in a competent court.⁵⁸

Commissioner Rea said that his powers were ministerial and not judicial and that all proceedings before him must be of a summary nature. Witnesses were called immediately to identify West as Vallandingham's slave. The first witness called was Hezekiah Ellis, of Frankfort, Kentucky. He said he had known Dr. Vallandingham for twenty-five years, had known West, his mother and sister, all of whom were slaves. He said West had been owned by Vallandingham for eight years. West had fired on the steamboat, *Blue Wings*, and had been arrested at Naples, Illinois.

W. H. Rickets, of Frankfort, Kentucky, testified to having written an advertisement for Vallandingham in which a reward of \$250 had been offered for West's capture. West had worked on the steamboat, *Blue Wings*, for two years.

Austin W. Vallandingham, the claimant, testified that West had a scar on his back from the cut of an axe, and further stated that he had cut off the first joint of West's right fore finger for a bone felon.

George R. Vallandingham said he was a son of A. W. Vallandingham. West had been his playmate in childhood. Had seen him last in 1853 and not afterwards until his arrest in Naples, Illinois. He had brought him handcuffed to Indianapolis.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ *Daily Sentinel*, Dec. 3, 1857.

⁵⁸ *Weekly State Journal*, Dec. 3, 1857.

⁵⁹ *Indiana State Journal*, Dec. 3, 1857.

Such was the tenor of the evidence given to claim West as the slave of Vallandingham. The counsel for West could not do much more to save their client from slavery. Seeing they were being defeated, they proceeded to lambast Vallandingham, his counsel and the court and to arouse public sentiment, probably for a rescue. The speeches made, show plainly this intention. They were purely abolitionist in tone, temper and spirit and were made for the public, not especially for the defense of West.

T. D. Walpole, at the conclusion of the testifying, argued that the evidence of identity was sufficient for a certificate of extradition. Julian in reply said:

From the rulings of the commissioner, which had been uniformly in favor of the slave hunter in this case, yielding to federal usurpation and trampling the rights of citizens of Indiana into the dust, he now had little hope. From all that had been observed it was evident that the commissioner intended consigning the alleged fugitive to the slave pens of Louisville, to be sold to slave dealers for the New Orleans market, and doomed to the warm latitudes in which cotton grows, to a few years of toil under the lash of a master and to go hence to that home from which it is to be hoped that no slave ever returns to endure the misery of a plantation life. The counsel for the alleged master failed to prove the ownership of the negro. The laws of Kentucky regarded slaves as real estate, conveyed by title and bills of sale. No bill of sale establishing the transfer of West from one master to another, had been produced and no legal title to the slave, as required by the laws of Kentucky had been produced in this court. The claimant knew the laws of Kentucky regarding proof of slave property, and had failed to produce his bill of sale here as required by the laws of his state. The testimony that Dr. Vallandingham had cut off the first joint of West's forefinger for a felon was falacious, as any one could see. (Here Mr. Julian reached the climax by suggesting and instigating the rescue of the negro in defiance of the law under the full belief that the negro was free.) The fugitive act is a godless law, it is an unutterably infernal law and if its provisions are carried out, it will drag God Almighty from his throne, and inaugurate the reign of the devil upon the earth. There is not a doctrine taught by Jesus Christ which is not derided and trampled under foot by the law.⁶⁰

Mr. Colley, counsel for West, continuing the case said that:

He regarded a slave hunter as one of the most graceless, despicable and hell-deserving among men. If he should be offered \$500 to assist in enslaving a negro, he would refuse to take it. Should he receive it and go to market with a portion of it to buy provisions, he would cer-

⁶⁰ *Indiana Daily State Sentinel*, Dec. 3, 1857.

tainly stagger against some man with hog cholera pork and thus poison his family. He was poverty stricken—was as poor as Job's turkey—but the offer of \$500 to assist in enslaving a negro would be no temptation to induce him to commit so great a wrong. That was his position and those who did not like it need not partake of it.⁶¹

This remark thrust at the Walpoles caused quite a bit of laughter in the court room.

The case was a question of veracity between Vallandingham and the alleged fugitive. West swore that he was not Vallandingham's slave and Vallandingham swore that he was. West could give a reason why he was not a slave, but old man Vallandingham could not give a reason why he was a slave. That was the difference between them. There was reason with West, but none with Vallandingham. The claimant might object to occupy a position of equality with a negro in Indiana, but it would be a very exalted one for him to occupy. We sung Psalms on Sunday, and played on our organs and prayed, "Our Father who art in Heaven" and if that Father was just and holy, as he believed him to be, he would consign the man who sent the nigger back to bondage to the very lowest bottomless hell that could possibly be imagined. A man might just as well hope to get out of the bottomless pit of hell by a jury trial, and have the interposition of Almighty God to help him, as to talk of this boy getting out of Kentucky after he was delivered over to Vallandingham and his crowd. It was just like preaching to a man that he must repent and be saved and praying over him, and then turning round and telling him that God Almighty had decreed that he should be damned forever. This was a question of humanity. They would get the nigger onto the Jeffersonville cars this evening, if he was delivered over, and down the Ohio river they would go from one degree of disgrace to another.⁶²

In this way did the abolitionists attempt to arouse the people to rescue West, if possible. The evidence and argument was all in and the decision of the commissioner was now awaited. It was given on Friday at 10 o'clock in the hall of the house of representatives to which his court had convened to accommodate the crowd which attended the trial. Rea said in reference to the question of whether coming into a free state made West a free man, he had nothing to do:

On the ground that I am sitting here more in a ministerial than a judicial capacity, and that under the acts of congress creating commissioners and defining their powers, I had no power to decide the question of freedom or slavery. The act of 1850 gives the commissioners the power on the claim of the owner of a fugitive from service, to issue a

⁶¹ *State Journal*, Dec. 10, 1857.

⁶² *Daily Sentinel*, Dec. 3, 1857.

warrant, inquire into the case, and on finding the fact alleged, to issue a certificate and return him to the estate from which he escaped. Then what are the laws of that state? Every person so returned may then take his case to court and jury, try the merits and ascertain the fact of his being a slave. There is no state in this Union where any man by the laws of that state can be held as a slave, when he is a freeman, and not a slave. The courts, then, are open at all times to try the rights of freedom. A certificate of extradition then issued by a commissioner under the act of 1850 is not conclusive.

Time has been consumed in talking upon the abstract principles of slavery, in which questions have been raised, with which I have nothing to do in deciding this case. In the language of Judge McLean—"it is for the people." Judges look to the law and the law only. If the law be injudicious or oppressive, let it be repealed or modified. But this is a power the judiciary cannot reach.

After full investigation of the evidence, I have no doubt, but that the defendant does owe service to the claimant under the laws of Kentucky, and that he is the identical negro man West or Weston claimed by Austin W. Vallandingham, and as I am bound under oath of office, I must grant a certificate to said Vallandingham to take him back to the state of Kentucky from which he escaped as his fugitive slave.⁶³

The coterie of lawyers for West would yet try another ruse to save their client. They filed a writ of *habeas corpus* for West in Judge Wallace's court of common pleas. The writ was served upon Jesse D. Carmichael, the United States marshal, by the sheriff, whose name was Foudray. Judge Wallace's court convened in the hall of the house of representatives to hear this case. West was brought into court by Carmichael and his *posse* of men, for at the time the commissioner announced his decision, because he feared mob violence in the rescue of West, he had authorized the marshal to summon a *posse comitatus* to aid him in the discharge of his duties, and complying with the orders of the commissioner, the marshal had selected forty men as his deputies to attend him in taking West beyond the borders of Indiana under the power of the commissioner. Carmichael, in answer to the writ, filed an affidavit setting forth that he held West in custody because of a warrant issued by the United States commissioner, Rea, for his delivery to the claimant in the state of Kentucky.⁶⁴

⁶³ *Daily Sentinel*, Dec. 3, 1857.

⁶⁴ *Weekly Journal*, Dec. 10, 1857.

T. D. Walpole proceeded to set before the court the facts in the case:

Here was a warrant of extradition, given by the United States commissioner. Here was the authority of the United States for the removal of the negro by the United States officer to Kentucky. Any one, whether attorney, sheriff, judge or whosoever else, interfering with the lawful execution of the warrant was subjected to severe penalties—to five years' imprisonment in the penitentiary under the law of congress. Tonight at seven o'clock the negro, under charge of the United States marshal, was to leave for Kentucky. Any one resisting the due carrying out of the order of the commissioner would, perhaps find themselves in jail before the next morning.⁶⁶

Coburn denied that the certificate was sufficient evidence to make West the slave of Vallandingham, because he had not been proven to be a slave of anyone. He claimed that a certificate had been given on insufficient grounds. West had had no chance to get a fair trial before the commissioner. They had asked for three weeks' time in which to secure witnesses to prove that West was a free man. This had been overruled and he could not procure testimony for a proper trial. The claimant had failed to identify the man, and he must not be permitted to be taken off until a satisfactory proof had been made that he was the slave of any one.

After these explanations, the court stated that West was in the custody of the deputy marshal, and that he would take charge of him and appear before the court at nine o'clock the next morning to hear the decision on the marshal's answer to the write of *habeas corpus*.

The court convened the next morning at the appointed time in the house of representatives, when Judge Wallace delivered his decision in the case. He said:

A United States commissioner had concurrent jurisdiction with a judge of the United States circuit court. The law made it so, and it was not for him to determine whether or not the law was right and proper. With that law and with the act under which the arrest of West, as a fugitive from labor, was made, no matter how odious it might be, he had nothing to do except to be governed by it in his official actions. If the laws were wrong appeals should be made to the legislative branches of the government. The courts had to deal with the law as they found it. In this case he looked upon the face of the certificate and in that document West owed services to Vallandingham and that he had es-

⁶⁶ *Daily Sentinel*, Dec. 5, 1857.

caped from such service. The law by which the court was governed, pronounced the certificate of the commissioner conclusive. This court was prohibited from discharging a person where he was held in custody under the authority of a court of the United States, or that of an officer having concurrent jurisdiction with such a court. He could not discharge the person sought to be released on the writ of *habeas corpus* from the custody of the United States deputy marshal. He would have to remain in his possession until the marshal had disposed of him as directed by the commissioner.

So the legal battle was over and West was handed over to slavery. The case had been legally decided, but whether justice had been received is another question. Geo. W. Julian later said of the case:

On the trial, he (West) was shown to have been free by the act of his master in sending him into a free state, but under cover of an infamous law, and by the help of truculent officials, he was remanded into slavery.⁶⁷

Mr. Julian, in one of his speeches in the commissioner's court, had suggested the rescue of West and had intimated that he would not be averse to giving aid in such an act against the iniquitous slave law, since he believed the negro was a free man. In accordance with this announcement a plan was adopted. Julian and about a dozen others were implicated in the plot. On the day the negro was to be taken south two or three men were to enter the jail and bid the negro goodbye, and others were to engage the marshal in continuous conversation. A free negro was to have a horse hitched nearby in readiness for West to escape. The marshal came for West in a buggy. While he was on the ground adjusting the reins of the horse and talking, West made his break for liberty. He made for the horse he thought appointed for him, but mounted the wrong one. He was awkward and clumsy and the horse he rode was a poor one. Carmichael discovering that his prisoner was taking to the woods quickly unhitched his horse from the buggy and started in hot pursuit. West was unacquainted with the best way to get out of town, broke for the woods north of the Northwestern Christian university. Carmichael, in his pursuit, was not out of sight of West except as the latter was turning the corners. After getting north of the university some distance, Car-

⁶⁷ Julian, *Political Recollections*, 163-4.

michael gained on West and nearing him discharged two pistol shots at him, neither of them taking effect. Being frightened by the discharge of the pistol, West surrendered himself to the deputy marshal, who brought him back to the city. In connection with this attempted rescue, Julian said of himself, in his *Recollections*: This is the only felony in which I was ever involved, but none of the parties to it had any disposition whatever to confess it at the time."

Julian and his friends had not succeeded in their undertaking. They had done their best to free West. Had the law permitted the court to be judicial instead of purely ministerial in its functions, they probably would have succeeded, for they presented good argument for his freedom. But the law limited the proceedings of the case, and their "free soil, free man" argument could not obtain. They had failed to free him or to rescue him. They did succeed in making it costly for the claimant. Dr. Vallandingham had to pay \$750 to get West through the courts at Indianapolis. This added to the expense of his capture at Naples, Illinois, and his transportation to and from Indianapolis made it a pretty costly excursion for the doctor. This last point was just the thing that Julian and his company of abolition friends wished to accomplish, if they failed to secure him his liberty.

On the Saturday following the trial, West was taken to the Palmer House, where he was cleaned up and dressed in respectable clothes which had been bought from a collection which had been taken up for him. From there he was taken to the Union depot. He was placed in a room above the ticket office to await the departure of the Jeffersonville train. About seven o'clock the negro accompanied by the marshal and his forty deputies came down the stairs to the train. The negro was led into the car and put into a seat accompanied by the posse. The expense of this posse was paid by the United States government. The blind was pulled down to prevent the crowd from gazing into the car.

There was an immense crowd assembled in and around the Union depot, composed in part of free negroes and their allies, the black abolitionists. Not a movement was made by the malcontents, notwithstanding the loudly uttered threats previously made, to interfere in any way with the legitimate action of the constituted authorities.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ *Daily Sentinel*, Dec. 7, 1857.

Not only were the marshal and his deputies fearing trouble, but the railroad company also feared it. The president of the Jeffersonville railroad, Mr. Ricketts, came to Indianapolis to see that all precautions were taken that nothing should happen in the transportation of West to Kentucky. If a rescue was not accomplished in the city, there might be an attempt to wreck the train on its way south. For twenty miles beyond Indianapolis he had stationed men to guard against the threatened proceedings of the free negroes and abolitionists with reference to the rails.

The Louisville *Journal* got information from W. H. Sponks of the Adams express company that the passengers and officers of the train were very much alarmed, fearing an attack by a mob. Mr. Ricketts accompanied the train. Before the train started he called the engineer into his presence and told him to proceed cautiously and slowly for the first ten miles. About three miles out from Indianapolis, they discovered a huge pile of rails and cross ties which had been placed across the track to cause an accident. About a mile further on was found a pile of greater magnitude against which, if the train had been moving with the speed usual at that place, they would have met with inevitable destruction. After clearing the track the second time, Conductor Walkup stepped upon the platform of the baggage car to let off the brake when he was dealt a severe blow over the head with a missile evidently from some sympathizer in ambush. Nothing further occurred to hinder the trip and the negro was safely landed in the Louisville jail.

This was the last great case before the tragedy of civil war fell upon the country. People were getting more bitter in their denunciations of the slave law and the institution of slavery. The *State Journal* which had said little or nothing in the days of the Freeman trial was now hurling its keen shafts against slavery. The Republican party had been born and its spokesman in Indiana was the *Journal*. The abolitionists were growing in number and were as active as ever. The churches of all denominations were now busy opposing the fugitive law. Ministers were urging opposition to the law and were picturing the horrors of slavery. The West case increased the heat of the flame. The preachers of the city

denounced the decision. Rev. J. B. Simmons, a Baptist minister, said:

West did not have a fair trial. He himself had heard the commissioner say that if West's witnesses had been present he would have heard them, but he could not wait for them to be sent for. The commissioner received the master's testimony and excluded the fugitives. Could he not have extended the time of the trial to give West a fair chance for liberty? There was no protection to the black man. Any of them could be picked up in our streets and be carried off by the same process which consigned West to slavery.

People were slowly but surely aligning themselves against slavery as the contest grew hotter.

III. MINOR CASES, THE NEW ALBANY CASE

The first case ever tried in Indiana under the new fugitive slave law, was at New Albany. There happened to be living in that city then a woman about fifty-five years of age, her daughter about thirty-five years old and a son of the latter who was probably about seven or eight years of age. The three had come to New Albany from Louisville, Kentucky, and had lived for about four months in the city, the little boy going to school with the white children, while his mother and grandmother worked. They were peacefully and happily living in the city, when one day there appeared before Squire Jocelyn, a man by the name of Dennis Framell of Arkansas, who charged that the three people were his fugitive slaves. A warrant being filed before the commissioner, they were all three arrested and thrown into jail to await their trial. This case aroused the people of New Albany to a high pitch of excitement, because to all appearances, the alleged fugitives were white persons. In the trial the next day, the oldest woman said she was a native of Baltimore, that many years ago her husband had been killed by the Indians, that she and her daughter had been carried away captive and that none of them were ever held as slaves. There seems to have been no trouble on the part of the claimant in proving them to be his property. In the meantime some one had appealed the case by a writ of *habeas corpus* to the United States court of Judge Huntington, thinking that by delay, evidence in the case might be procured from the former residents of the al-

leged fugitives. They were confined in the jail at New Albany to await the pleasure of the district court. Judge Huntington did not long delay his decision in the case, which confirmed that of Squire Jocelyn and he sent the United States marshal to deliver the three people to their claimant in Kentucky, from which state it was made to appear they had escaped, and where it was said they had once been arrested at Caseyville. A New Albany paper said of the trial:

We suppose Judge Huntington's decision is in accordance with the law, but not with justice. Our citizens exhibited a good deal of feeling when the facts became known, not because of any general sympathy for fugitive slaves, but because they believe that persons of Anglo-Saxon race have been unjustly deprived of their liberty.⁶⁹

When Framell was taking his three fugitives through Caseyville, Kentucky, they were torn from him by a mob of slaveholders and he was threatened with summary vengeance from the excited multitude. When milder counsel prevailed, the fugitives were brought before the proper tribunal and released as white folks. The people in Louisville were interested in their liberty, and in order to make sure of it several prominent citizens were proposing to raise the necessary funds to secure a title to the same. While this was happening in Louisville, the people of New Albany had already held a meeting to raise money for their relinquishment. Framell, seeing what sort of a position he occupied, agreed to give them up for \$600. This was quickly subscribed by the people of New Albany and a committee was sent to Louisville, where they received a bill of sale from Framell in exchange for the six hundred dollars, and the women and boy returned rejoicing to their residence in New Albany. *The Ledger* said of the case:

We hope never to hear of another such a case as this. For persons pronounced white by nineteen-twentieths of all who see them to be carried away captive and held as slaves is something revolting to the feelings of every American citizen. When the United States marshal came here to execute the order of Judge Huntington, he expressed his fears that our citizens would release the persons by force. But their best friends told the marshal to proceed in his mission and that he would not be molested. Mr. Meridith frequently said that this was the most

⁶⁹ *New Albany Weekly Ledger*, Dec. 4, 1850.

disagreeable duty he had ever been called upon to perform and when a subscription was being taken for their release, he gave \$15.⁷⁰

The *Statesman*, commenting on the case, said:

The first fugitive slave case under the new law, has resulted in carrying into slavery two white women and a little boy, neither of whom has a particle of African blood in his veins, all done in broad daylight, and with the sanction of the superior court and by the hands of the United States marshal. If so great an outrage can be perpetrated under this law, who will not raise his voice against the bloody bill? If the white women and little white boy may be dragged from their homes, incarcerated in a dungeon and consigned to slavery, what security is there for free negroes? Let the advocates of this infamous bill defend this outrage if they dare.⁷¹

This first case under the new law began to light the fires of hatred in the people against it. Here was a slave catcher who had proven property which did not belong to him and never had. The persecuted had testified that they had never been slaves, but because the law disclaimed the right of a fugitive to give testimony and demanded that the court act upon the testimony of the claimant and any whom he might secure as his witnesses in his behalf, they were remanded into slavery. This was dangerous business because it would enslave free people. This first case started sentiment which continued to grow.

A KIDNAPPING CASE

Charley Rouse and his wife Martha lived on a rented farm near Chestnut Hill, Franklin township, Washington county. He was forty-five years old and she was ten years younger than he. Besides working on their farm they did odd jobs for the neighbors. One evening while Charley was gone after the cows, Martha was stolen by five white men from Louisville, armed with shot guns. These men claimed that Martha was a fugitive from a certain Mr. Shreeve of that city. The report of the affair spread rapidly throughout the community and some seventy-five or a hundred men both whigs and democrats flew to arms and began a hot pursuit. The kidnappers hurried in a big wagon to Henryville, where they took a train for Jeffersonville. At that place Isaac S. Bloss and George Clark tried to buy the woman. The leader of the gang asked

⁷⁰ New Albany *Ledger*, Dec. 4, 1850.

⁷¹ *Indiana Statesman*, Dec. 12, 1850.

six hundred dollars, but said he could not sell her in Indiana, but would close the contract in Louisville. This was their ruse to get her into Kentucky, for when they arrived across the river they declared no money could buy her. She was sent south at once and nothing more was heard of her.

From the Salem *News* is taken the following in regard to the case:

We understand that Martha acknowledged herself as a slave of Mr. Shreeve and seemed willing to return to her master. It is said to be about ten years since she made her escape and took up her quarters in or near New Albany, where she was shortly afterwards married to Charley Rouse, a black man greatly her senior in years. They immediately removed to the neighborhood of New Philadelphia, where they continued to live together up to the time of her arrest. They were highly respected by their neighbors for their honesty and peaceable dispositions, and all appear to regret the event which has separated them. Our information states that she had never told her husband that she was a slave. The old man is represented as being deeply in distress for the loss of his wife, and it is said that he is about taking some steps to try to reclaim her, alleging that the man who made the arrest showed no authority for doing so.

We are not in possession of all the facts in the case, but if what we have heard be true, it appears to us that it would be wisdom on the part of our citizens in that neighborhood not to interfere in the matter. We already have difficulties and dangers enough to encounter upon the subject without getting into more of the same kind.⁷²

Whether Martha was a fugitive slave or not was never established by evidence. Five slave hunters from Louisville seemed fully convinced that she was the slave they wanted, though ten years had intervened since her escape. Seventy-five or a hundred Washington county people were just as thoroughly convinced that Martha had no just cause for being enslaved and made every effort to rescue her. In this, they did not succeed and we have to record another instance of a home being broken up by the thunder bolt from the clear sky which fell so suddenly and so crushingly.

FUGITIVES CAPTURED ON A RAILROAD TRAIN

By one of the Madison papers,⁷³ we are told the story of two fugitive slaves being arrested on a passenger train on

⁷² Quoted by the Madison *Daily Banner*, Oct. 17, 1851.

⁷³ Quoted by the *Daily State Journal*, Sept. 18, 1855.

the Madison and Indianapolis railroad, near Dupont, Indiana. They were arrested by John Mancourt, the conductor of the train, and William Monroe, the Adams express company agent. The story of their escape reads almost like *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. In their attempt at escape, they had been hunted with blood hounds on the Kentucky side of the Ohio. They had had a desperate fight with the dogs, but they managed to kill them with their knives. Crossing the river, they had wandered about from Sunday night until Friday, without anything to eat except what the orchards and forest trees provided them. They were worn out, ragged and foot sore. They were despairing of escape, when they concluded to try the train and ride northward to Indianapolis. They were seized by the conductor and express man who put them off at Vernon, where they were taken before the United States commissioner and remanded to slavery upon their own admission of being fugitives from service. They were returned to Madison on the first southbound train and before sun down were safe on the shores of our sister state, Kentucky.

At Vernon, when they were put off the train by the conductor, they seemed to have been taken in charge by a "respectable" young gentleman who was an attache of the post office at that place, by the name of R. K. Reed. The Vernon *Banner* said:

Reed was seen hugging them from the cars down town and tried to get them lodged in the county prison, but the sheriff, Huckleberry, gave him to understand that he was going to take no part in their dirty work and they were compelled to find private rooms. It is said they were remanded upon their own admission of being fugitives. How true this is, we don't know. We tried to get into the commissioner's court to hear what the negroes had to say but we were not able to even learn where the court was, or where the negroes were and as yet we have not been able to see any one who was there or knows anything about it. If this is the manner that fugitives are tried, by "starchamber" courts, we say out upon them. Let the people frown down commissioners, marshals, and all that have had a hand in such sneaking, dirty work.⁷⁴

Thus was concluded this case which, to use the words of the *Banner*, was dirty work all the way through. The conductor, express agent and postoffice attache were not officers of the law, nor had they been called upon to act in this case

⁷⁴ Quoted by *Indiana State Journal*, Sept. 18, 1855.

by any marshal. They were volunteering their services that they might find remuneration. It could not have been otherwise. This case also brings out another abuse of the law and that is the secrecy with which it was carried out. In other cases the same thing occurred. The lack of publicity always indicates a bad conscience and fear of the people.

CASE FOR HARBORING A SLAVE

The first prosecution in this state for a violation of that section of the act of 1850 for harboring a slave, occurred in December, 1854. The case was between Mr. Marsh, deputy marshal, and Benjamin B. Waterhouse. He was prosecuted by Marsh as a violator of the seventh section of the fugitive act. This section provided for imprisonment for six months, a fine of \$1,000, and civil damages to the amount of \$1,000 to the claimant for obstructing the arrest, attempting a rescue, or harboring a fugitive after notice. It was on the last part of the act that the case was instituted. Waterhouse was accused of having harbored two slaves belonging to Daniel Payne whose names were Tom and Jim, aged respectively 23 and 20 or 21. George W. Julian and E. H. Brackett acted for the defense and the district attorney and R. W. Thompson acted as prosecutors in the case. The slaves who had run away from their Kentucky master had first disappeared at Louisville. Next they were heard of in Madison and Richmond, Indiana. At the time of the trial they were pleasantly located beyond the lakes at Windsor, Canada. In the evidence, Waterhouse was shown to be guilty of the offense as charged. According to the law, punishment was severe, but Julian and Brackett argued their case so well before the jury, that the defendant was fined the sum of \$50 and imprisoned one hour. Quoting an Indianapolis paper on this case: "Certainly the case gives little aid and comfort to those who think the rigid enforcement of the law necessary to 'save the Union'."⁷⁵

In the work of freeing the slave many persons took part, among them both men and women. Southern Indiana and northern Kentucky were the scenes of their rendezvous, and many were the numbers who owed to them the security of their

⁷⁵ *Indiana State Journal*, Dec. 13, 1854.

liberty. History does not record all their work and it is only a few of their names that have been revealed to us. Only now and then do we catch a gleam of their subtle movements. The greater part of it is shrouded in mystery and must remain silent forever with the actors who have passed on before.

Mention has been made of the work of Mrs. Laura Haviland of Adrian, Michigan, who did so much to rescue negroes from slavery. She had some thrilling experiences with slave-catchers and frequently looked into the mouth of pistols pointed at her or subdued the lurking blood hounds by the boldness of her actions. But her composure never failed her and she was rescued from perils from which it seemed impossible to extricate her. She continued her work in Kentucky south of Cincinnati, Rising Sun, and Madison until the Civil war ended it.

One of Mrs. Haviland's confederates in the work of rescuing the unfortunate colored people, was Calvin Fairbank. Fairbank was a New Yorker by birth and a descendant of old English stock. He came west into Ohio where he was educated at Oberlin college, an educational institution pre-eminently known for its anti-slavery sentiments and teachings. His steady and tender nature led him to seek the ministry as a vocation and he was soon ordained an elder in the Methodist Episcopal church and given a license to preach. It was while attending quarterly meeting, when a boy, with his father and mother that he heard a sad story told one night at the fireside of a pair of escaped slaves. The negro woman recounted her history for a period of thirty years, how she had been sold from home and separated from her husband and family. This story told in his youth had the same effect upon him that the sight of the slave auction in the streets of New Orleans had upon the youthful Lincoln. He vowed to strike it a blow whenever an opportunity presented itself, for he said: "My heart wept, my anger was kindled, and antagonism to slavery was fixed upon me." During his life he gave full execution to this resolve, for he says:

Forty-seven slaves I guided toward the North star, in violation of the state codes of Virginia and Kentucky. I piloted them through the forests, mostly by night, girls, fair and white, dressed as ladies, men and boys as gentlemen, or servants, men in women's clothes, and women in

men's clothes, boys dressed as girls, and girls as boys, on foot or on horseback, in buggies, carriages, common wagons, in and under loads of hay, straw, old furniture, boxes, and bags, crossed the Jordan of the slave swimming, or wading chin deep or in boats, or skiffs, on rafts and often on a pine log and I never suffered one to be recaptured.

For aiding those slaves to escape from their bondage I was twice imprisoned, in all seventeen years and four months and received during the eight years from March 1, 1854, to March 1, 1862, 35,105 stripes from a leather strap fifteen to eighteen inches long, one and a half inches wide, and from one-fourth to three-eighth of an inch thick. These floggings were not with a rawhide or cowhide, but with a strap of leather attached to a handle of convenient size and length to inflict as much pain as possible, with as little real damage as possible to the working capacity.⁷⁶

Fairbank was operating south of the Ohio in conjunction with Miss Delia A. Webster, who was teaching school at Lexington, Kentucky. Miss Webster co-operated fully with Fairbank in his work of rescuing the slaves, and in the end suffered much persecution for her work.

On a September day in 1844 Fairbank met a negro by the name of Lewis Hayden. Hayden was seeking freedom for himself and his family. Upon being asked why he wished freedom he replied that he wished to be a man. Fairbank soon took the case in hand and in company with Miss Webster, they had the Hayden family in a hack on the way to the Ohio river. After losing a horse and securing another, they escaped safely across into the state of Ohio, where they made safe connections with the Underground Railroad. Fairbank and Miss Webster returned to Kentucky, where both of them were immediately put in jail. At the trial both were convicted, though there was no evidence produced against them, and sent to the penitentiary at Frankfort, Kentucky. Fairbank was sentenced to imprisonment for fifteen years. While he was incarcerated his father came to Kentucky with a petition, signed by many people in Alleghany county, New York, for his release. While he was endeavoring to secure such clemency, he was taken ill of cholera, from which he died. He was buried among strangers at Frankfort, Kentucky. However, in a short time Fairbank was pardoned by John J. Crittenden, the governor of that state at that time. After traveling much in Ohio and in the east, resting from the effects of his imprisonment, at the solici-

⁷⁶ *How the Way was Prepared*, pp. 10 and 11.

tations of his mother he concluded to return to Kentucky to get his father's body. But the weather was yet too warm for such work to be hygienically done, and as Indiana was in a hot contest over her constitutional amendment prohibiting negroes to settle within its limits, he concluded to come to our state and use his influence against it. He was campaigning in the lower tier of counties, when he was appealed to to rescue a young mulatto girl named Tamar, who was about to be sold from the block. He consented to aid her and crossed over the Ohio, by night, to Louisville in an old leaky skiff. He secured Tamar who, with a tin cup, dipped the water from the boat, while Fairbank, with a board, paddled the boat across to the Indiana shore near Jeffersonville. In a short time, they were speeding on their way toward Salem, Indiana, where Tamar was placed in safe hands. Fairbank returned by rail and on foot to Jeffersonville with the intention of going after his father's body. While at Jeffersonville he was attacked and kidnapped into Kentucky by A. L. Shotwell, and marshals Ronald and Hamlet of that state. The sheriff of Clark county permitted Fairbank to be taken from his hands in direct violation of the law of the land. Shotwell was Tamar's master and was very anxious to get Fairbank into Kentucky. The methods used to secure this end did not bother his conscience in the least. Fairbank was again lodged in Louisville jail for five months to await his trial, which was held before Judge Bullock. No evidence was given against Fairbank that proved him guilty of aiding in the escape of a slave, but he was, nevertheless, convicted and sentenced to fifteen years' hard labor in the Kentucky penitentiary. The whole affair was a sham, a travesty to justice, it having been prearranged what the outcome should be. Fairbank did not have a single witness in his behalf nor could any be procured for him because of the excitement that then existed over the death of an anti-slave worker by the name of Conklin, who had been tied with ropes and thrown into the Ohio, for attempting the rescue of a negro woman and her four children. Everything was against his liberation.

During his term of imprisonment, he was subjected to the most brutal, wicked and inhuman treatment conceivable. At his first entry of the prison, the profits arising from the labor

of the prisoners was divided between the state and the warden, the warden furnishing one-third of the expenses and sharing one-third the profits. Each prisoner was allotted so much work to be done each day, which was all that a strong man could do working at top speed. Fairbank was not a strong man and soon proved incapable of doing his task. He was then subjected to the most horrible and cruel punishment ever doled out in modern time. He was put at the hardest, dirtiest work possible and orders to that effect were given by Capt. Newton Craig, the warden, in the following words, "Mr. Davis, take Fairbank to the hackling house and kill him." They had to labor from daylight until dark. Their food consisted of old fat greasy bacon and corn bread mixed with hot water. Coffee consisted of burnt rye, the grounds of which were boiled over and over until they spoiled. Their beds consisted of a pile of dirty straw, with swarms of fleas and bed bugs for bed fellows. It was at this time that Fairbank sent word by a negro, who had been liberated from prison, to Levi Coffin and Dr. Brisbane at Cincinnati telling them of his deplorable state, and asking them to send him aid or he would perish. The necessary means were provided but to get the things to Fairbank was the problem. Laura Haviland came to the home of Coffin at this time and hearing of the sad condition of Fairbank, volunteered to go to his assistance. Dr. Brisbane feared for her to go at this time, but she insisted on going. Preparing her trunk with comforts and underwear, she crossed the Ohio to Kentucky. After much delay she was admitted to see Fairbank and bore to him some money and articles of comfort. It was learned that she was delayed because she was suspected to be Miss Webster, a woman who was greatly feared and hated by the slave holders. When they were fully assured that she was not Miss Webster she was allowed to see the prisoner and was finally permitted to return to Ohio. She tells of the excitement her visit aroused. She said that as she was passing along the streets she overheard a clump of men talking. One said, "great excitement in town, hear that another woman abolitionist worker has been caught—think it's Miss Webster." She merely remarks that little did they know that the little woman who was then passing them was the cause of all their

flurry, and how surprised they would have been had they known the fact.

Fairbank fared no better under the regime of Zebulon Ward, in fact he fared much worse. When Ward came to the prison his inaugural address was short and showed fully his determination. He said: "I'll not allow you to break me up. I came here to make money, and I'm going to do it if I kill you all." He increased the allotment per man, making it a rule to flog every one who failed to make his quota. Fairbank was then weaving flax and usually failed to make his two hundred fifty yards per day, though working at top speed all the time. The flogging was done by two whiskied overseers, Jack Page and Sam Thompson, two monsters in human form, who took turn about at the work, one getting his wind while the other flogged. These floggings took place during the noon hours and in the evenings. The whipping was inflicted upon the naked person, the victim leaning forward over a stool, chair or bench, where he received stripes that cut his back into pieces and made the blood flow freely. This cruelty took place under the administration of Ward. During the later period of his incarceration, Fairbank was treated more humanely, and was seldom ever whipped, though at one time he was dealt a blow on the head with a stick of stove wood which almost cost him his life, and which always bothered his equilibrium during his remaining days.

At length after twelve years of such horrible imprisonment in the Kentucky state prison, Fairbank was pardoned by Lieutenant Governor Jacobs, who restored him to his liberty without anything in this world, excepting a few faithful friends and the scars of affliction borne to his last day, the reward for the cause of a downtrodden race. But Fairbank's work of liberating the slaves from their masters was over. When he again breathed the air of freedom, the great Civil War was at its height, testing whether the union should be preserved and slavery be overthrown. There is probably not recorded on the pages of our history the story of another individual in our country, who suffered more for the cause of universal human liberty than Calvin Fairbank. He suffered long and endured much to attain the object of his youthful vow and indignation. Many another individual would have given up

hope and died under the lash, and such might have been the hard fate of Fairbank, but for the helping hand of steadfast friends who sent him money and clothing and what was worth more than all, words of good cheer, to help him bear up under the terrible strain.

DELIA A. WEBSTER

Miss Delia A. Webster was another of the anti-slave agents whose ostensible occupation was that of teaching school. She was located at Lexington, Kentucky, while at her chosen profession of teaching. To all appearances she was sincerely devoted to her profession. However, she never permitted an opportunity to go by to aid a slave in securing his freedom. She was a New Englander by birth, having been born in the state of Vermont and came west for the purpose of teaching. She hated slavery and did everything in her power to alleviate the misery of those in bondage and to harass the slaveholders of northern Kentucky. She was constantly engaged in the work of abducting slaves, though it was never proven at any time that she was so engaged, and of course she made no admission of the fact. She came to be hated by the slave masters as well as feared by them. While nothing could be established against her, she was constantly under suspicion and was subjected to threats intermingled with much persecution. With all this opposition, she continued her work just the same, traveling from one locality to another, always coming in contact with slaves and teaching them the avenues of escape and very frequently aiding them directly in the work herself. The scenes of her operations were all along the southern border of Indiana, but chiefly south of Jeffersonville, Madison and Rising Sun. How many slaves she succeeded in liberating is, of course, not known, but she was constantly at the work of persuading them to run away. Northern Kentucky suffered greatly from her effective work.

It will be recalled that she worked a great deal of the time in conjunction with Calvin Fairbank. Knowing him and working with him as his ally, she was not unacquainted with the principal conductors and agents in Indiana and was thoroughly acquainted with the different underground routes northward across our state to Michigan. She traveled con-

stantly along our southern border, while not engaged in teaching a short term of school. There can be no doubt of the fact that she was furnished financial aid in her work, by the abolitionists in Indiana and Ohio, otherwise she would not have been able to accomplish so successfully what she achieved. Besides acting as an abductor and agent, she was also a spy and much information was gleaned by the underground operators from her. She was fearless in her actions and lived among the slaveholders and catchers without being embarrassed by their braggadocio talk. She aided Fairbank in getting the Hayden family across the Ohio River onto free soil. Upon their return to the Kentucky side of the river, they were both arrested and jailed at Lexington. No evidence was produced at the trial to condemn them, and if ordinary justice had prevailed, they would have received a verdict of not guilty. But they were in the land of the slaveholder whose ire against abolition agents exceeded justice and equity by several degrees. They employed Sam Shy and Leslie Coombs as their attorneys. Three indictments were found against them which would have been sufficient to imprison them for forty or fifty years. Each case was tried separately, Miss Webster's being tried first. Miss Webster's father, Benaiah Webster, came from Vermont and every influence possible was brought into requisition to secure an acquittal for her, but nothing could stem the tide of prejudice against her, and she was condemned to imprisonment for two years in the Kentucky penitentiary for aiding and abducting slaves. She arrived at the prison while Newton B. Craig was warden. It was through his influence that she was pardoned by Governor Crittenden, after just six weeks' imprisonment.

Miss Webster seems to have been possessed of some of the alluring wiles of a Delilah and these she skilfully plied with complete success upon old man Craig, the keeper of the prison. Having gained her freedom from the governor, Craig seems to have been lost to her attention and confidence forever. Her cunning scheme had borne its fruit and Craig was left to reflect upon how he had been played as a pawn in the wily hand of the artful player. He bitterly repented of his action, when it was too late, and afterwards remorselessly pursued her in seeking revenge for being tricked.

After being freed from prison, Miss Webster traveled about doing her work in her usual successful manner. When Fairbank was arrested and kidnapped into Kentucky from Jeffersonville, Indiana, as a result of aiding Shotwell's slave, Tamar, to freedom in 1851, one of the papers, the *Herald* at Georgetown, Kentucky, noticing his arrest, asked: "Whar is Miss Delia Webster? as they hunted in couples, she ought to be somewhar in this vicinity." The Madison *Daily Banner* in reply, remarked that Miss Delia Webster arrived at that place yesterday morning on the mail boat General Pike. Where she was from, where she was going and what was her business west at that particular time had not yet been made public. These comments indicate that the southerners were watching Miss Webster's every movement with the eye of a hawk. They seemed to have been foiled in their detective work a great part of the time, for while they were watching her closely at Louisville, she was busy at her work near Evansville. At several other times some other woman was taken for her. When Mrs. Haviland was visiting Fairbank in prison, she created quite a furore of excitement, because many southerners thought that she was Miss Webster, and they cross-examined her very closely to make sure that she was not the active confederate of Fairbank. The jailor even asked observers to go with them into the prison, so that her actions might be closely scrutinized, while in the presence of the prisoner. The newspapers, acting as the exponent of public feeling, said that Miss Webster was again in their presence visiting Fairbank, and they were busy breathing out their threatenings, all of which showed how they hated and feared her.

After her pardon from prison, Miss Webster bought a large farm in Trimble county, Kentucky, which was located across the Ohio River from Madison, Indiana. Here she repaired to live, but no sooner was it made known what she had done than the Kentuckians began their work of annoying her. They sent her word that she had better leave the state to save her life, that they intended to burn her buildings and destroy her crops. They felt that she was not to be tolerated in their presence, since the suspicion of her real work was always uppermost in their minds, especially since the arrest of Rev. Norris Day, at Madison, Indiana, who was alleged to be her

partner in the business and who made her home in Kentucky the scenes of his maneuvers. They accused her of the loss of quite a great amount of their slave property and now to have her continue to live in their midst where she would furnish slaves an asylum and her place act as a center of operations for abolitionists upon their cherished institution, was more than they could tolerate. They were not going to permit her to live there. But all their threats and bluff could not deter Miss Webster in the least. Noticing that she did not seem to be perturbed by their orders and threats, they concluded to try legal action, when they probably could have her convicted and imprisoned. She was arrested and jailed by the Kentuckians. While in jail she was treated harshly and with but little or no respect. Later she managed to escape from jail and arrived safely in Madison, but the southerners were as relentless in their pursuit of her as they ever were after a fugitive slave. They hatched up the charge of violating the law in abducting slaves, but fearing that charge might fail against her, they brought forward and redocketed the three old indictments against her in 1844, which were then ten years old and upon one point of which she had been convicted and imprisoned before. The governor of Kentucky made requisition upon the governor of Indiana for her extradition which was granted. At this point we have the contest between the abolitionists on the one hand and the officers of Kentucky on the other. Fortunately, we have the words of Miss Webster herself regarding her experience during this time. She writes:

"The Indianans, indignant at such an outrage upon a peaceable citizen, hid me from my pursuers. Sometimes, they secreted me in the city and sometimes in the country—in hay-mow, in the woods, under brush heaps, in rye fields, in cleft of rocks—sometimes in one place and sometimes in another, until I was too feeble to be longer moved about.

While I was prostrate with sickness after some twelve days search, the officers got track of me, took me off from the bed, put me in an open buggy and drove me fifteen miles under a scorching July sun, and after dark made a daring attempt to smuggle me across the river. Here again they were defeated and took me secretly to Madison, where they confined me in jail, to await the arrival of the Kentucky officers.

The vigilant Indianians determined I should have the benefit of a *habeas corpus* and a large troop of volunteers stationed themselves around the jail to prevent my being kidnapped by the Kentuckians, and there I lay in close jail twenty days before I was able to be taken out for trial. The evening prior to the trial, another requisition arrived demanding me upon another ten-year-old indictment.”⁷⁷

The trial of Miss Webster was held in Madison before Judge Walker. She was ably defended by Dunn, Hendricks and Joseph G. Marshall. She was tried on both warrants and on the evening of the twenty-first of July, 1854, she was discharged from custody by the decision of Judge Walker.

Old man Craig was, of course, the chief prosecuting witness. He had every reason to wish vengeance. He had been made the dupe of Miss Webster to get herself out of the penitentiary. He had also written her some endearing letters after her freedom which she had permitted to be published about the time he was up for re-election for warden before the Kentucky legislature. These letters had had the desired effect and Captain Craig was defeated. A Madison paper scored the old gentleman mercilessly for his foolish fancy. It said:

While he pursues Miss Webster venomously, he swears that she is “as pure as an angel in heaven.” Who ever heard of an angel being suspected in Kentucky for negro stealing before? When Craig thought he was about to die, we are told, he insisted upon “seeing the girl once more.” In this prosecution he appears before the public as a weak debauchee, whose honesty is entirely worn out like a pair of old shoes and whose principles are like a pair of pantaloons easily laid off for any leudness or dirty purpose.⁷⁸

The above quotation indicates that Craig was near death’s door while at the trial in Madison. When the trial was over and he was about to return to Kentucky he was shot through the back by some one and nearly killed. The man who did the shooting was supposed to have been a Mr. Randall, who was a laborer on Miss Webster’s place across the river. The condition of Craig became critical, since the bullet passed completely through his body. Craig, while yet severely wounded, wrote a letter to the Louisville *Journal* saying that he had not used a harsh or disrespectful word since he had been in

⁷⁷ *Indiana American*, Dec. 7, 1855, copied from the N. Y. *Independent*.

⁷⁸ *Madison Courier*, Aug. 16, 1854.

Madison and that he had positively been ordered to leave the place under the heaviest penalties. "My life was frequently threatened, and at last the most base and cowardly attempt was made to assassinate me in cold blood. I was shot, but it was done at my back, as assassins always do such things." Craig said that he knew who shot him, but he never followed the case up by a prosecution, which shows that he must have entertained some doubt regarding his statement.

Judge Walker was roundly denounced in Kentucky for his decision of the Webster case. Said the *Yeoman* of Frankfort, Kentucky: "The release of Miss Webster was caused by the contemptible quibbles and the illegal and corrupt holdings of an abolition judge, who disregarded the law of congress and the comity that should exist between the states." To this the *Courier* made a hot reply:

Every judicial officer in this state, or any of the free states, who fails to square his opinion of the law to suit the requisition of the slavery propagandists, is abused in the above chivalrous manner. Judge Walker is no abolitionist, is a gentleman and as a jurist he stands deservedly high.

That he cannot stultify himself or make his decisions conform to the slave owner's idea that "might makes right" is his misfortune, as well as the misfortune of nine-tenths of the people of Indiana.

There is a good deal of talk on the other side of the river about comity and good feeling, but very little exhibited by them unless the people of Indiana prostitute every manly feeling and every conscientious impulse to the service of negro hunting, or to help them in base passion for revenge upon a defenseless woman, persecuted by a lewd prison keeper under an alleged charge of negro stealing.

In a letter to the New York *Independent* Miss Webster tells of the tiger-like venom with which she was pursued in the plunder of her property in Trimble county:

Again foiled, those slaveholding Kentuckians returned to plunder my premises, and under the guise of law my house is robbed of its entire contents, my farming utensils are seized, my grain, hay, etc., are taken away, my cattle and other stock driven off and I am deprived of my entire personal property, even to my wardrobe. Nothing whatever is left upon the place save the growing crops, the property seized amounting to \$9,000. At the next circuit court their writ of attachment is dismissed and it becomes the duty of the officer to return the property to my possession. Instead of this, he secretly sells what had not before been destroyed, and the slaveholders pocket the money.

Are they satisfied now? While I was on a visit to my aged mother in Vermont, they take advantage of my absence, steal and sell my crops, pocket the money, and when I return to make a payment of \$2,000 on my place, lo, I have nothing with which to make it—am bereft of my last dollar, this payment due and I am penniless.

The last spring, to prevent my sending on tenants to take care of the place, they broke open and demolished six of my dwelling houses and burned the seventh. My close confinement in the four different prisons about to 193 days and the loss of property to \$11,050.

You have here but the outlines of my persecutions and are at liberty to make such use of them as your superior judgment shall dictate.

Respectfully and your truly,

DELIA A. WEBSTER.⁷⁹

In Miss Webster's case is seen the merciless fury with which every suspected slave agent was attended in a slave state.

THE BELL CASE

Early in the year 1857 a negro man by the name of Charles ran away from his master, Dr. H. Ditto, who lived in Brandenburg, the county seat of Meade county in Kentucky, just across the Ohio river from Harrison county, this state.⁸⁰ Charles was a very valuable slave because he was a blacksmith of excellence and consequently was worth more than the ordinary common run of slaves. His master, upon discovering that he had headed toward freedom, immediately dispatched handbills and runners in the direction of Brownstown in Jackson county, with the intention of heading him off and again securing him as his property. Bills were liberally distributed for his apprehension through Indiana and especially around Brownstown, since it was generally known that it was here that the Underground Railroad made good connection with the railroad north. It was thought that Charles would take this route. Newspaper notices and hand bills had not been out so very long before they began to bear fruit. Early in October, 1857, Mr. C. B. Johnston and a certain Mrs. Withers, both residing at Brownstown, Indiana, wrote letters to Dr. Ditto telling him that they could supply him with the names of persons who had aided in the escape of his slave. Dr. Ditto soon got into

⁷⁹ *Indiana American*, Dec. 7, 1855, from the N. Y. *Independent*.

⁸⁰ *Louisville Journal*, Nov. 10, '58.

communication with these two informants and the following facts were made known. Mrs. Withers said that a free negro by the name of Oswald Wright, who resided in Corydon, Indiana, had come to her house and made inquiry about breakfast for himself and the runaway slave, Charles. Wright said that he had left the fugitive at the depot and that he would bring him to her house provided both could secure their breakfast. This was agreed to by Mrs. Withers. After eating their morning repast, Wright took the fugitive to the train and saw him off on his trip to freedom. While at her house Wright had made known the fact that a family by the name of Bell, who lived on the Indiana shore opposite the town of Brandenburg had aided in the escape of the negro and that they contemplated to effect the escape of the wife of the fugitive whose name was Mary Ann and who was also in the possession of Dr. Ditto. C. B. Johnson said that he had seen the reward offered in the newspaper and had become interested in securing it, since it was an unusually liberal one. He began immediately to search for further evidence, plying this business with that of horse trading. He had visited Corydon where he had made it a business to see Wright, who had told him that he had aided in the escape of Charles and that he had brought him from the Bell farm to Brownstown where the negro had taken the railroad. Wright stated further that Charles Bell had told all about how he had stolen the fugitive away from Ditto at Brandenberg, ferried him over the river and had harbored him until he could be sent northward. He also said that Wright had asserted that he had loaned the fugitive his free papers to aid him if any one should question his right to freedom and that he had conveyed the runaway Charles to Browns-town on horse back. Having ascertained that the escape of Mary Ann was being planned, Johnston saw his opportunity to find out more about the Bells as underground railroad agents. He went to their neighborhood under the guise of a horse trader. He came to the Bell farm where he and his companions put up their horses and crossed over to Brandenberg where with the aid of the slave holders a plan was hatched to catch the Bells. Johnston said that he and his Jackson county confederates saw Charles Bell and agreed upon a plan for the escape of Mary Ann. The night was set and the Jackson

county men were to bring the negro woman to the river at a place agreed upon and at the signal of the striking of a match Bell was to cross over with a skiff and ferry her over. The negro Wright was to be at the Bell home to receive her and put her through to Brownstown. Upon the night set, at about 10 or 11 o'clock the matches were struck at the point agreed upon and although it was a very dark, rainy and windy night, in a few minutes of an hour, Charles Bell made his way to this signal on the Kentucky side. It was so dark that he was neither seen nor heard until he spoke and inquired, "Where is she?" The Hoosier who had given the signal replied that she was in an old mill upon the bank. Charles got out of the skiff and started to the mill to escort the colored lady to the skiff. On the way to the mill he passed within a hollow square of gentlemen who seized and placed him in jail. The skiff oars were muffled or wrapped with rags so as to prevent any noise in rowing.

The Kentuckians next crossed the river to secure the persons of Oswald Wright, the free colored man, and old Mr. Bell, the father of Charles Bell. David Bell's house stood back from the river a short way above high water mark. It was surrounded by some eight or ten men to prevent any one from escaping. Two men went to the door and knocked and were told to come in. When they entered they found the negro Wright in his sock feet, hoisted against the stove and old man Bell was reading a newspaper. One of the men told Bell that they had come for his guest. They turned to Wright, told him to put on his shoes and go with them, which was not readily agreed to, but with some demonstration of the force they intended to use Wright accompanied them to the ferry boat at the landing. They also took the two horses that Wright was to use to carry the woman off on. So far nothing had been said to old man Bell. A little later two or three of the men returned to the house and told Bell that they had taken the negro's horses and that he had better go with them to see if they had any of his property. This Mr. Bell did. Instead of going to the barn they took him to the ferry boat, where one of the company put his arms about him while a Kentucky constable read a warrant accusing Bell of complicity in stealing a negro named Charles, belonging to Dr. Ditto and commanded

that he be brought before the magistrate in Brandenberg. The work of the constable was supposed to be legal because Kentucky claimed jurisdiction over the Ohio River to low water mark on the Indiana side. Wright and the Bells were now incarcerated in the Brandenberg jail.

The preliminary trial was held before the Kentucky magistrate the next day. The main prosecuting witnesses were the Jackson county people. At the trial the witnesses swore that the negro Wright confessed that he had received Ditto's negro at the house of old man Bell and had run him through to Brownstown and that he had been notified by old man Bell when to come to his house with his horses. David Bell, they said, confessed that he had notified Wright to be at his house on a certain night to receive the slave and that he had furnished him with a pistol and a pocket compass, which he had purchased at Corydon to aid him in his get away. They said that Charles Bell had confessed that he had crossed to the Kentucky side to notify the negro when to be in readiness and on the day before the night of his escape he was at a shop where he told the slave that Wright was at his father's with horses and to be ready early that night. These confessions of David Bell and his son Charles were made, so they said, while they were planning the escape of Mary Ann. Such was the evidence turned against the Bells at their first hearing.

Charles and his father were each placed under \$5,000 bonds and the negro, Wright, under a bond of \$3,000. Bail was not forthcoming and they were all placed in jail. Here they remained until the May term of court. The grand jury was busy in the interim and they were all indicted on six points: (a) For enticing Charles to leave his master; (b) for stealing Charles from his rightful owner; (c) for conspiring to run off a slave named Charles; and (d) for furnishing Charles with forged and false papers. The other two points pertained to enticing a female slave named Mary Ann to leave her owner and with conspiring to run off a female slave named Mary Ann.⁸¹

In the meantime there was much excitement all along the river, both on the Indiana and the Kentucky side, because of the kidnapping of the Bells and the free negro. People in

⁸¹ Gresham, *Life of Walter Q. Gresham*.

Harrison and Floyd counties were aroused at the high-handed and illegal way in which they had been arrested and landed on slave soil. Old Col. William C. Marsh of Corydon, a life-long friend of old Mr. Bell, raised a large force of armed men with the intention of forcibly releasing the prisoners from the Brandenburg jail, but the plan miscarried because transports failed to reach Leavenworth at the appointed time. The people at New Albany were also ready to co-operate with any force that would attempt the rescue. On the Kentucky side people armed in defense of Brandenburg. The jail was guarded by a company of Meade county rangers. Soon the governor of Kentucky ordered a company of state militia to the border to prevent trouble. These troops were commanded by Capt. Jack Armstrong. It truly seemed as if there might be petty border warfare between the two states if only the proper spark were set to the powder. Fortunately nothing was done by the Hoosiers and in a short time the guard grew too strong for a rescue. The Bells were permitted to remain quietly in the Brandenberg jail to await their trial in the Meade county circuit court whose term was to begin in May.

The next scene in the drama appeared when Horace and John Bell, both sons of David Bell, returned from California. They had heard of the way in which their father and brother had been landed in the Meade county jail and had returned to their aid. Horace Bell was the oldest one of the sons, and before going to California had owned and operated the Brandenberg ferry, a popular crossing place from the earliest times from Harrison county to Brandenberg, over which the people in southern Indiana in this particular district passed to the Kentucky town to do their trading. A road passed north from this ferry by way of Mauckport to Corydon. Horace had followed his brother to the Golden State in the year 1851. John had been one of the original '49ers. Horace seems to have been endowed with something of the Captain John Smith disposition to see something of this world, so he later joined the Walker expedition of 1855 for the conquest of Nicaragua for the purpose of establishing the powers of the slavocracy there. For this reason Horace was not considered an abolitionist in the southern sister state, but was reckoned as one in sympathy with their favorite institution. Both of the boys had returned

to Indiana by way of the Panama route to New Orleans, then north up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. They went to their old home where they visited with their mother for a short time. While here they were approached by some of their old-time friends who wished to aid them in rescuing their father and brother, but this they politely declined, saying that they would try fair and just means. They crossed over to Brandenberg to secure bail for their imprisoned relatives and finally found two slaveholders who agreed to go on the bonds. Their names were Alanson Mormon and Arly Richardson. When they found that the bond for each was \$5,000, they felt it was impossible for them to do anything since it was excessive in amount. Father and son were, therefore, left in prison.

On the day of the trial in May many Indiana friends of the Bells passed over to Brandenberg to witness it. People came down from New Albany and there were many from Corydon. The tragic manner of their arrest and the talk of their rescue had kept up the enthusiasm of those who were mere onlookers and had filled those who had been angered at the southern audacity with a grim determination to see that justice was done. The Bells were defended by such lawyers as Judge Porter, Samuel Kean and Walter Q. Gresham, all from Corydon. With such a company of legal lights it was evident that the Bells intended to fight the case to a bitter end. Feeling ran high at the trial and in many instances did not fail to express itself. The Bells were often jeered in the streets by the southerners. So exasperated did Horace become at their attitude that at the adjournment of court one day he made them a short speech in which he declared that he did not desire border warfare, that he had declined the aid of his armed friends and neighbors, that all he desired was justice. If he did not get this he and his brother would come alone, break the jail and set the prisoners free in broad daylight. This the southerners took to be a big joke. They considered it as so much braggadocio. It was during the early days of the trial that old Colonel Marsh was killed. He was a great friend of the Senior Bell and it was he who had planned his rescue. He had come down from Corydon to hear the trial. He was standing near the Brandenburg Hotel talking to two of his friends when he was shot by a man by the name of Stanley Young,

who was secluded in the balcony of the hotel. It was thought for a time that this affair was the result of hatred engendered by the Bell trial, but it was later found out that it was the result of a family feud, since previous to this time Marsh had killed Young's father.

Delay was the game that was played by the southern officials. It was some time before preliminaries were over and the real trial begun. When everything was in readiness the prosecution announced that it was not ready for trial and asked that the case be continued for six months. This was granted by the court and the Bells had to stay in jail. From all appearances it seemed that they were to be punished not by justice being meted out, but by the injustice of delay. They had already been in jail almost a year and it seemed that they were doomed to more of it. This was more than the impetuous Horace could stand, so bolder means were planned to free them.

Their plan was to disappear apparently and await for the excitement to subside and the guards to be lessened in number, when they would suddenly reappear and raid the jail. They talked the plan over with their mother who thought that it was possible for it to terminate successfully. Their plan was simple and direct. The two brothers were to cross over armed, surprise the jailor, free their father and brother, arm them, hasten to the boat without firing a shot if they could, but to fight to the last ditch if forced to do so.

They set the date for freeing their father and brother on Thursday, July 29th. At that time there was to be a barbecue at Garnettsville. Most of the people in Brandenberg would be out of town, for a barbecue was always a great gatherer in that day. It also happened that the jailor himself was absent on that day and there was no one in the jail except the wife of the jailor and a young man who had been left to act as a guard. The outer guards had not yet returned to their duty from dinner, since it was planned to make their move about noon or a little after when there would be a lull in all activities. At the appointed time John and Horace, both armed with a belt of revolvers and carrying a carpet bag containing ammunition and revolvers, came down to the landing where they found their mulatto boy awaiting in his skiff ready to carry them

over. Crossing, each took a different street to the jail which stood about three hundred yards back from the river bank. Arriving at the jail they both entered without trouble. Horace guarded the jailor's wife and the young man while John went above, got the keys from a bureau and liberated his father and brother. Both the liberated were given arms and hastened down stairs. In the melee, the jailor's wife fainted because of fear and the young man disappeared through a window of the jail to give the alarm. John hastened with his father and brother to the boat, while Horace covered the retreat. Shots were fired as they were getting into the boat, but they went overhead. They were soon out a distance in the river when some of the Brandenbergers fired upon them. The bullets struck in the water near the boat but did no damage. Horace stood up in the boat and fired back at them with a big Derringer and his shots came so uncomfortably close that the Kentuckians ceased to shoot and beat a hasty retreat.⁸² No one was hurt in the exchange of shots and the Bells paddled their way across to the Indiana side of the river. The feat of the brothers was heralded far and near by the papers and the whole river community jollified at their exploits, much to the chagrin and mortification of the Brandenbergers. The New Albany *Tribune* added its taunt by saying that the Bells were not only Bell-igerent but likewise Bell-impudent. The same paper on August 10 printed quite a lengthy ballad about the affair. The author, Forceythe Willson, wished to accord them a place among the heroes and to commemorate the bold deed in rhyme. Two verses are quoted:

Our brave Yankee yeomen—the Bells of the river
Who crossed the deep river, the bright, tranquil river
Unmasked and at noon, in the name of their Mother,
To demand and deliver
Their father and brother!
Whose skiff skimmed the river when the sun was arisen.

Who thundered and walked through the doors of the prison—
Of the Brandenberg prison!
In the name of their Mother,
Of God and AFFECTION!
And took out their father, and took our their brother,
And brought them both over without dereliction.

⁸² New Albany *Daily Tribune*, Aug. 9, '58.

It seemed that since the Bells were all safely lodged at home once more that that would be the end of the contest, but such was not the case. There had been too much dancing for joy. The southern pride had been stung and they must vent their wrath upon Horace Bell, if such was at all possible. They only waited their time when the second scene of the drama should be played. They were already secretly setting the stage in order, by offering a reward for the seizure and transportation of Horace back to the Kentucky side. Something near \$500 had been offered for his capture and in due time this brought results.

The Floyd county fair was held during the week of October 19-23 in the year 1858. In that particular period of our history it was well attended by the people of southern Indiana and northern Kentucky. It was here that the second scene occurred on Saturday, October 23, the last day of the fair. Old Mrs. Bell and her daughter had been at the fair that day and were going over to Louisville to visit. Horace had accompanied them to the Duckwall ferry which operated between New Albany and the Kentucky city. He had returned from the wharf and was waiting at the Depauw House where he was chatting with a few of his friends. It was early in the afternoon and most of the people of New Albany were out at the fair. But few people were about the streets, when Horace arrived at the corner of Main and Bank streets preparatory to going by stage to Corydon that evening. At this place he was surrounded by five men from Louisville, all of whom were fully armed. They immediately disarmed Bell and hurried him to the wharf, declaring to those whom they met in the streets that the one in their charge had committed a foul murder on the other side of the river. As soon as he was landed on the ferry boat, it was moving out into the river for the southern side. He was finally placed in the Louisville jail, but during the night he was taken by a man by the name of Merrill to Brandenberg. The Louisville gentlemen who did the kidnapping were John Rodgers, Jerry Antell, Thomas Antell, Sylvester Deshon, Joseph Sweeney and officer Ray, Blight and others.⁸³ These men were working for the reward that had

⁸³ New Albany *Tribune*, Oct. 28, '58.

been offered but not one of them realized a penny for their trouble.

The whole city of New Albany and surrounding country was filled with indignation at the outrage which had been perpetrated upon a citizen of the commonwealth of Indiana. They immediately armed for his rescue. A party of twenty-five men went to the court house at New Albany where they provided themselves with muskets, pistols, a swivel and ammunition. They procured the ferry boat, *Adelaide*, and by the time it left its mooring on Monday evening, it had seventy-five men on board. At Tobacco Landing in Harrison county about four miles above Brandenberg they added about forty more. When they came within a mile or two of Brandenberg about sixty men were landed who were to go overland and come down in the rear of the city at the same time that the boat should come opposite. Of those that went overland, all got lost but eighteen. Strangers to the roads and in a pitch black night they could not make their way successfully. In the morning the squad of eighteen made a descent upon the jail but found that Bell was not there. The jailor had been apprised of what was going to happen; so he had removed Bell to the interior of the state to vicinity of Big Springs and Elizabethtown. The citizens of Brandenberg, especially the merchants were conciliatory, because they feared that the armed men might resort to incendiaryism. A town meeting was therefore held to settle the affair. Judge Alexander, William Fairleigh, Col. Moreman, Dr. Brown and Col. R. Buckner were appointed to act for the Brandenbergers and John R. Cannon, George Austin and Oscar Gregg were the committee selected to act for the invaders. The two committees agreed upon three points, first that the armed party should return home, second that Bell was to be brought back to town and given an immediate examination and if not discharged was to have a moderate sum assessed as bail, which bail was to be given by Brandenberg citizens, and third that Governor Morehead was to be asked to pardon all the Bells. With this agreement the army of invasion returned home and Bell was returned to Brandenberg for trial which was held on Wednesday, October 27, before two justices of the peace. Bell was charged with breaking jail and freeing his father and brother.

He pleaded guilty as charged and was admitted to a bail of \$750 to appear before the Meade county circuit court in November. Messrs. Alanson Morman and J. M. Phillips of Brandenberg and John R. Cannon of New Albany were his sureties. Bell came to his old home where he stayed for a short time and then returned to California and the bond which had been given for his sake was forfeited. The bondsmen were later released from the payment of the bond by the executive branch of the Kentucky state government. So the curtain drops and closes one of the most exciting events that ever occurred on our border over the subject of slavery.

Before leaving the subject it should be said that Oswald Wright, the free negro, who figured in the case was later convicted for stealing slaves and was sentenced to five years in the state penitentiary at Frankfort. After serving out his term he returned to Corydon where he afterwards lived until his death.

In regard to David Bell, it is generally thought that he had been imprisoned for something that he was entirely innocent of. His neighbors never felt that he had anything to do with either harboring or running off slaves. He knew nothing about Charles nor Mary Ann, the two slaves. He was a man of seventy years of age and a man of that age would not be a very effective underground agent. A different story can be told with some degree of reliability about Charles Bell. He planned and executed the escape of Dr. Ditto's slave Charles. He had come to hate the institution of slavery because of the teaching of his Aunt Julia, who was bitterly opposed to slavery. Charles was surely one of the anti-slave agents that worked on the border. He did not get the reputation that was gained by Calvin Fairbank and Delia Webster, but no one can doubt the effectiveness of his work which was done quietly and secretly.

Historical News

The spring meeting of the Southwestern Indiana Historical society was held in Cannelton, the county seat of Perry county, Tuesday, May 24, 1921. The meeting was pronounced the most successful that has been held since the organization of the historical society in the "Pocket" counties. A special car was chartered for the visiting delegates, and more than sixty persons wearing banners inscribed, "Lafayette, We Are Here", enjoyed the hospitality of the Cannelton people. Thomas de la Hunt, the historian of Perry county, was chairman of the committee on arrangements, and had enlisted the united support of the people of Cannelton for entertaining the visitors. Immediately upon arrival at Cannelton the guests were taken in automobiles to the Lafayette springs, where a brief talk was made by Mr. de la Hunt, announcing the plan of donating the old spring and the grounds surrounding it to the state of Indiana as a memorial to the thirty-seven men from Perry county who lost their lives while in service during the World war.

The party was then taken to the home of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Odell at Sunny Crest, three miles up the Ohio river, where lunch was served by the Women's Travel club of Cannelton. Following the luncheon the visitors returned to the city where a brief program was given in the high school auditorium. An episode of the centennial pageant, depicting the brief visit of Lafayette in Cannelton in 1825, following the accidental landing of the steamer "*Mechanic*", was presented by some high school students. A paper on the "Life of George Ewing" was read by Jennie Latimer Clark. A talk on Indiana war records was made by John W. Oliver, director of the Indiana Historical commission.

Following the program the visitors were taken to the home of Mr. De la Hunt at Virginia Place, where tea was served. At five o'clock the visitors departed for their homes after having enjoyed one of the most pleasant historic meetings

that has been held in southern Indiana. The fall meeting of the Southwestern Indiana Historical society will be held at Rockport sometime in September.

The centennial anniversary of the organization of the Little Flock Baptist church, located five miles north of Sullivan, Indiana, was celebrated with an all-day service and basket dinner, May 29. Thousands of people attended, some coming from Nebraska, and many from Illinois, and Indiana. Seven of the former ministers were in attendance and one of them, Stephen K. Fuson of Rockville, who is eighty years of age, preached a sermon.

The founders of the church were Tyre Harris, Susannah Harris, John Hodges, Polly Morgan, Mary Hill, Elizabeth Anderson, Robert Anderson, Betsy Morgan, Sarah Eldridge, and Patience Cummins. The meetings of the church were held first in a log school house which stood in the southeast corner of the cemetery. A log church was built in 1826. In 1856 a frame building was erected, and in 1871, the present building was constructed. All of the church records have been preserved. They show that more than a thousand persons have been members of the church, and that from 1827 to the present the church has had thirty ministers.

The *Literary Digest* of April 30, 1921, gives an account of the inventor of the first motion picture machine and his first show. The inventor was C. Francis Jenkins of Richmond, Indiana, and he held his first show in that city in a jewelry store in 1894. At that time, Mr. Jenkins was a clerk in the treasury department at Washington and had gone to his home in Richmond for his vacation. He was unable to make a commercial success of his invention and it is said that he sold his interest in it for \$2,500. The machine which projected the picture is on exhibition at the national museum in Washington and is said to be the forerunner of all present-day projectors.

It is planned to place a bronze tablet on the jewelry store in Richmond, indicating that the first motion picture machine gave an exhibition in that store June 6, 1894.

Mr. Jenkins is still living in Washington and recently invented the Discrola, a machine that will reproduce motion

pictures from a disc similar to that used on a phonograph. It is expected this machine can be used in the home like the phonograph.

The conspicuous rôle which the Quakers have played in the development of Indiana was commemorated at Richmond, Indiana, August 15, 1921, by a centennial celebration of the establishment of their first Yearly meeting in the state, which was organized in 1821. A forenoon program consisting of greetings from other Yearly meetings, an address by Harlow Lindley, of Earlham college, on "A Century of Quakerism in Indiana", and an address by Rufus M. Jones, of Haverford college, Pennsylvania, on "Quakerism of the Future" was carried out, and in the afternoon a pageant was presented depicting the principal activities in which Friends have been directly concerned. Since about one-third of the Quakers in America live in Indiana, and the members of this church have taken a prominent part in the political, religious, educational, business, and moral development of the Hoosier state, this celebration carries with it an unusual interest. It is planned to publish a history giving a full account of Quakerism in the state as part of the year's activities.

Indiana's list of authors has an addition in Richard Otto Johnson, A.M., late superintendent of the Indiana state school for the deaf. As chairman of a committee appointed for the purpose by the Conference of Superintendents and Principals of American Schools for the Deaf, Mr. Johnson has prepared a report of 260 pages on "Standardization, Efficiency and Heredity" in the education of the deaf, which is already received by educators as a standard in a comparatively unoccupied field. It not only presents a full and scientific explanation of the causes of deafness, and a discussion of practical education of the deaf, but also gives ideas for teaching that can be profitably considered by all teachers.

The book is evidently worthy of the flattering letters and press notices it is calling forth, and is a notable addition to Indiana's scientific literary product. Mr. Johnson has long been known as a contributor to educational periodicals, but this is his first venture in book form.

George R. Wilson, who has contributed many historical articles of great value to Indiana history, has recently brought forth an interesting life of George H. Proffit, one of the famous men of Indiana during the period of the thirties and forties. Few men in southwestern Indiana played a more prominent part in Indiana history during the decade from about 1836-46 than did George H. Proffit. As a member of the state legislature, a representative in congress, as political advisor to President Tyler, and as ambassador to Brazil, Proffit filled an unique position in Indiana and national politics. Mr. Wilson has rendered a distinct service to the cause of local Indiana history by his generosity in having a copy of this pamphlet placed in every school in Pike county. Mr. Crow, editor of the Petersburg *Press* generously offered his services in preparing this pamphlet for publication.

The Lake County Old Settlers historical society held an interesting meeting August 27, at Crown Point, at which time a marker was dedicated to Solon Robinson, the first inhabitant and founder of Lake county. The society has adopted a definite plan of erecting small concrete markers to a half dozen or more of the earliest settlers in Lake county, and a committee is at work formulating definite plans for the erection of these markers.

The Indianapolis *Star* June 19, 1921, carried an interesting historical article from the pen of Thomas J. de la Hunt of Cannelton, telling how the first invasion of Indiana by southern troops during the month of May, 1863, was cut short by an Indianapolis man, John W. Minor. The invasion was led by Capt. Thomas H. Hines of the Ninth Kentucky cavalry, C.S.A. Captain Hines' forces disguised as union troops were making headway through southern Indiana and had reached Paoli, the county seat of Orange county, before they were discovered to be enemy forces. Mr. Minor, who was then a lad in his early "teens", and who had been commanded by Captain Hines at the point of a pistol to provide a saddle for the invading captain was responsible for sending forth the information that the forces were from the Confederate States, and thereby enabled the forces of the state government to

assemble a sufficient guard to drive the invaders back to the Ohio river where they were captured.

The Washington county historical society recently celebrated the establishment of its new quarters in a room in the county court house in Salem, which has been fitted up in an attractive manner. The historical collections and relics of the society have now been installed in the new home, and the county society bids fair to continue its leadership in promoting the study of local and county history.

Spencer county dedicated its new court house at Rockport June 1, 1921. Plans for the erection of a life-size statue of Abraham Lincoln have been definitely started, and funds are being raised for this purpose. The fact that Lincoln spent the formative period of his life in Spencer county warrants the belief on the part of the citizens of that county, that his memory should thus be honored.

The celebration of the 100th anniversary of the establishment of churches and schools in Indiana calls for more than passing notice in an historical magazine. One of the famous old churches of Wayne county, the Christian church at Bethel, celebrated its hundredth birthday July 31. The church minutes show that a total of 1,046 members have been enrolled during the century. The old church erected in August, 1821, was of hewn logs, the building was thirty by forty feet, and the funds were raised by subscription. The first pastor was John M. Foster.

Every few days the attention of the public is called to the great loss that Indiana is suffering by not having an adequate state museum in which to house the many historical relics of the state. Only recently the will of the late W. A. Jones, a wealthy Chicago foundry man, but who still claimed Laporte county, Indiana, as his home, disclosed that his famous collection of fire arms and antiques, numbering more than seven hundred pieces, and collected from all parts of the world, reported as the largest in the United States, and valued at over ten thousand dollars, is to be given to the city of Laporte, provided that the city establishes a suitable place for the housing of this collection. In the event that the city does

not take advantage of this gift within a year, the relics are to be bequeathed to the Field museum in Chicago. If Indiana only had an adequate state museum, this collection as well as scores of others would not be leaving our borders.

The Henry County historical society recently took action toward marking the graves of the Revolutionary soldiers buried within the county. According to the records, the following nine Revolutionary soldiers were buried in Henry county: Richard Conway, Andrew Ice, Jacob Winner, John Lee, William Wilson, Thomas Hilman, John McDonald, Ebenezer Harper, and Joel Simmons. It is believed that one or two other Revolutionary soldiers may have been buried in Henry county, and the committee appointed to designate and mark the graves will make an effort to find their resting place.

That Hoosiers generally are playing a prominent part in the national politics was recently disclosed by an examination of the *Congressional Directory* of the 67th congress. This shows that eight native Hoosiers are representing other states than Indiana in the present congress. Following is the list: William N. Vaile, born in Kokomo, Indiana, now representing the First Colorado district; Burton L. French, born near Delphi, Indiana, now representing the First Idaho district; Charles F. Ogden, born in Charlestown, Indiana, now representing the First Kentucky district; Joseph W. Fordney, born in Blackford county, Indiana, now representing the Eighth Michigan district; Henry F. Lawrence, born in Decatur county, Indiana, now representing the Third Missouri district; John F. Miller, born in St. Joseph county, Indiana, now representing the First Washington district; Lindley H. Hadley, born near Sylvania, Indiana, now representing the Second Washington district; John Williams Summers, born in Valeene, Indiana, now representing the Fourth Washington district. Several other members of congress have lived temporarily within the state's borders. Two members of the President's cabinet are natives of Indiana, and a third lived in Indiana for several years.

The Indianapolis *News* of May 14, 1921, carried an interesting article from Jacob P. Dunn reciting the career of Gen.

Henry D. Washburn, soldier-explorer, and a noted figure in our national history. It was under General Washburn's command that the first official exploration of the headwaters of the Yellowstone was made in the summer of 1870. With a military escort of a half dozen men, he succeeded in reaching the headwaters in September, and after making a thorough investigation submitted the reports to congress. General Washburn was instrumental in arousing interest that later led to congressional action in making the land about the Yellowstone a National park. General Washburn did not live to see his ambition realized, since he died January 26, 1871, at Clinton, Indiana, while enroute across the country to Washington. Mount Washburn stands as a noble monument to this Hoosier explorer.

Miss Charity Dye, well known educator, teacher, and student of Indiana history, died July 21, 1921, at the Methodist hospital, Indianapolis. Born in Mason county, Kentucky, October, 1849, she moved to Indianapolis in 1873. She immediately identified herself with educational, social, civic, and club life of the city, and became a real leader in the affairs of the city. As a teacher and student of Indiana history, a writer of pageants and a lecturer for the cause of women's rights, she became a recognized state leader. As a member of the Indiana Historical commission she devoted her time and services unstintingly during the state's centennial in 1916, and did much to arouse an interest in the study and appreciation of pioneer history. She conceived the idea of establishing a monument in memory of the pioneer mothers of Indiana, a task to which she devoted all of her strength during the last days of her life.

The Historical commission announces the completion of the Gold Star Volume, the first of the State War History series. The volume contains the names, photographs, and a brief biographical sketch of the 3,354 men and 15 nurses from Indiana who lost their lives while in service during the World war. The book comprises 750 pages, is handsomely bound in imitation leather with the letters GOLD STAR HONOR ROLL set on a raised dye, and in gold leaf. One copy of the volume

has been awarded, as a gift of the state, to every family in the state who lost a son or daughter while in service. Also one copy has been placed in each of the public libraries, and in the college and normal school libraries in the state.

A Tipton County historical society has been organized by the members of the State historical society in that county. Tipton county was the second county in the state to furnish its quota in the membership drive being made by the State historical society for one thousand members by December 11, 1921, admission day. Mrs. Sam Matthews was elected president, Ebert Allison, secretary, and Mrs. L. M. Reagan, treasurer. Meetings will be held on the second Tuesday of each month. This is the only county historical society in the state whose members are also members of the state society.

May 11, the Indianapolis *Star* published the following:

"An Indianapolis lady recently made the interesting discovery that the surname 'Hoosier' is not uncommon in at least one part of the country, namely in and about Salem, South Carolina. The discovery was made through an acquaintance who casually remarked that she had relatives of the name. 'Do you mean,' inquire the amazed Hoosier lady, 'that it is a real family name?' 'Yes, indeed,' was the reply. 'It belongs to an old family, and there is a tribe that lays claim to it.'"

Doubting the statement, I learned the source of authority, and on inquiry there, was informed that the original informant had not stated that she had "relatives" of that name, but that she "had met a lady of that name"; and the location was not Salem, South Carolina, but Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Further, the original informant had been asked whether her acquaintance spelled her name "Hoosier," and had answered that she did not know, but supposed so. A letter to the postmaster of Winston-Salem disclosed that he knew of no people named "Hoosier"; and he added: "I have inquired of some of the old family of Hauser in this city, and they state that they do not know of any Hoosiers in this part of the country. The majority of the Hausers pronounce their name Hooser; a few pronounce it Howzer. The correct spelling is Hauser." This is the second case that has come to my notice of actual corruption of a name pronounced Hooser to the pronunciation

of Hoosier; and prolonged search has failed to reveal anybody actually named Hoosier.

J. P. DUNN.

Whitewater valley was selected for the annual pilgrimage in June, of the Society of Indiana Pioneers, with Connersville as the starting point, and Brookville as the objective. The pilgrimage was planned by William H. Insley of Indianapolis, and was one of the most successful yet taken by the society from the viewpoint of historic interest and scenic beauty. At Connersville the pioneers were met at the station by members of the Rotary club, whose guests they were to be. The Rotarians had planned a motorcade through the streets and along the old Indian trails leading out of the city. Each member of the party was supplied with a pamphlet *Historic Connersville* written by J. L. Heineman, and each car contained a man or woman who knew the past history of Connersville as well as the story of its modern progress. Historic points of interest were marked by placards and passed in quick succession. One of the interesting features was the drive along the White water canal. Numerous bridges mark its course through the city, and at one place a spillway added a musical note to the quiet stillness of the onward flowing waters. The site of the barge basin suggested scenes of great activity in the early history of the canal, and the home of Capt. Gayle Ford recalled a moment of great historical interest when under his guidance the first boat "The Patriot" arrived at Connersville in 1845. Through the courtesy of Misses Cresler and Sumner the pioneers were entertained evening and night at Elmhurst college. Dinner was served in the small but artistic dining-room of the historic mansion, after which the pioneers assembled on the spacious lawn to enjoy the program which had been prepared. Speeches were made by E. P. Hawkins, and J. L. Heineman, who spoke on the history of Fayette county, both of Connersville, and Amos Butler of Indianapolis, representing the pioneers. A sketch of the life of John Conner was read by a great-granddaughter, Mrs. C. V. Thompson of Indianapolis. The story of the building of Elmhurst by Oliver H. Smith, and subsequent history down to the present day occu-

pants as told by Miss Kate Heron of Connersville, gave the historical setting necessary to clothe the old home with romance and mystery, and made it indeed Elmhurst, the Beautiful. Leaving Elmhurst the next morning, the motorcade wended its way toward Brookville over the old Connersville road which gives a view of both rivers and glimpses of Brookville from above at the same time. Three Pines, the hospitable home of Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Shirk, was thrown open to the pioneers during their stay in Brookville. Historic points of interest, too numerous to mention in detail, were visited both morning and afternoon. Two historic churches were visited—Big Cedar church, the history of which was given by J. C. Shirk, and Little Cedar church, organized in 1806 and erected in 1812, the story of which was told by Harry M. Stoops. A dinner was served at the Methodist Episcopal church by the Ladies' aid society, and another program given, consisting of speeches, music and song. A visit to the Hermitage, the home of J. Otis Adams, one of Indiana's well known artists, and the privilege of visiting his exhibit of paintings, was one of the pleasures of the day. It was here that the pioneers began to say good-bye and started on the return journey, some returning to Indianapolis by motor, while others returned to Connersville and again had the privilege of being entertained at Elmhurst.

Forty years ago in August, 1881, an attempt was made to organize a Ripley County historical society at Versailles. The pioneer meeting was in charge of George W. Lane of Dearborn county, and Governor S. S. Harding, territorial governor of Utah under Lincoln's administration, of Ripley county. This attempt failed because of lack of interest. A Ripley county paper speaks of that failure as "greatly to be regretted that they did not complete the organization, because the entire history of Ripley county was written in the memories of these men."

July 14, this year, another attempt was made to organize a local historical society which promises to be more successful than the first. Invitations were sent to all those who were thought to be interested in the preservation of local history.

A representative number of citizens gathered at the courthouse in Versailles, many of them descendants of the early settlers, and perfected an organization. Joseph Hassmer was elected president, Dailey McCoy, recorder of Ripley County, vice-president, Mrs. Clare Jones, librarian at Osgood, secretary, and Mrs. Minnie Wycoff of Batesville, treasurer. An executive committee, consisting of one man or woman in each township, was appointed, and these in turn selected a committee of two in each township as a membership committee, such additions to the society before September 1 to be charter members. Meetings are to be held in each township throughout the year.

Ripley county is wide-awake and working, and has to its credit the following record: A county war history, written by Mrs. Minnie Wycoff, and published by the aid of a guarantee of its public-spirited citizens; complete Gold Star records of the boys who made the supreme sacrifice; complete military records, with picture for each boy who went into the service from Ripley county; a local historical society, with a constructive program; and a movement under way for the acquirement of a state park within its borders. All of which goes to prove that much can be accomplished by a wide-awake citizenship which takes as its motto "It Can Be Done."

June 1, Carroll and Cass counties united in making an historical survey of the old Indian trails and points of interest along the Wabash and Erie canal from Delphi to Logansport. The survey was planned by Ben F. Stuart of Carroll county, assisted by J. C. Odell, the newspapers of both counties, and the chamber of commerce at Logansport. The survey began at the courthouse in Delphi, J. C. Odell giving the history of the places visited between Delphi and Carrollton. At the Carrollton bridge Hoover Jones told how the canal boats crossed the river at this point in the days of the Wabash and Erie canal. The historian from Carrollton to Georgetown was Ben F. Stuart. At noon the party gathered at the site of the old trading post near Lockport where a basket dinner was served. When the county line was reached between Carroll and Cass counties, Rufus Magee of Logansport became the historian

for Cass county, and the party drove toward Logansport along the beautiful river road. Many places of historic interest were visited, for which this county is famous, among them the home of Judge Biddle at Logansport. The country club entertained the party at its home near the city, and at 6:30 a dinner was served by the chamber of commerce. The program was in charge of the local historical society, with William T. Wilson as chairman. Speeches were made by members of the chamber of commerce, the local historical society, Harlow Lindley, secretary, Indiana Historical commission, and Mrs. Kate Milner Rabb, author of *A Tour Through Indiana in 1840* and the Hoosier Listening Post. A musical program of old-time melodies, arranged by Caroline McNitt, added much to the enjoyment of the evening. Much interest was aroused in the two counties by this survey, a noteworthy result being shown in the series of articles published by the Delphi *Citizen-Times*, and the Logansport *Pharos-Tribune*, and the increase in membership in the State Historical society.

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Vincennes In Its Relation to French Colonial Policy

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The opening of the eighteenth century marked the beginning of the struggle between the English and the French for control of the Mississippi valley. The French had extended their posts the whole length of the river, but the English were threatening their hold by advancing upon the headwaters of the great rivers flowing westward from the Alleghanies. The Carolinians had descended the Tennessee to its southern most bend and had then journeyed down the Alabama to the gulf. They had supplied the Chickasaws with arms and thus won their friendship and together these red-men and whites had enslaved other Indians who still had to rely upon their native weapons.¹

Farther to the north the English were moving down the Ohio. In 1700 traders from Carolina and Virginia, apparently by way of the Cumberland (*Quas quem*), had reached the Mississippi and established themselves among the Arkansas Indians at Cappa near the mouth of the St. Frances river. Iberville declared that these men were operating under orders

*A partial translation of the notes is furnished so the American reader can make out their meaning. The author is not responsible for these.

¹ Iberville wrote shortly after 1700 concerning the English: "Il y a plusiers années qu'ils se sont placés aux Chicacha qu'ils ont armé de fusils ausquels ils se joignent et font des courses sur les autres nations qu'ils font esclaves." Several years ago they joined (?) the Chickasaws whom they armed with guns, with whom they joined and made incursions on the other nations which they enslaved. He added that the English had gone north to the thirty-seventh parallel and south to the thirty-third and descended the Mobile [Alabama] river to the sea. *Mémoires Après 1700. Archives Nationales, Colonies. C 13, C2: 23.* Transcript in Library of congress. This memorial by Iberville is typical of many in the French archives.

from English governors and he believed that their coming was the forerunner of larger movements of the English from across the mountains.² In the English colonies, he argued, population was already so dense that it must find an outlet to the west. The newcomers would naturally settle along the Ohio and ally themselves with the Indians whose lands they were invading.³ If this should take place, the English would be in a position to cut the communication between Louisiana and Canada and threaten the integrity of the French colonial empire.

Iberville furthermore pointed out that the *courreurs du bois*, who had come down to the Ohio from Canada to trade, were already selling their furs to the English, whose posts were only three or four hundred leagues away and could be reached without portage. To break up this trade, Iberville proposed drastic measures. At one time he suggested closing all the routes leading from the Ohio country to the English posts.⁴ At another time he proposed to send an army to destroy the English colonies and thus end their encroachments.⁵ He would then establish a post on the "Ouabache" and compel the Indians to trade there or go to Detroit.

Iberville planned this post to check the advances of the French Canadians as well as those of the English. He re-

² "C'est par la Branche de quasquens que sont descendus plusieurs anglois de la Caroline en Virginie qui sont venus S'establir aux Acansa ou Cappa - - - - Les anglois qui sont venus S'establir aux Acansa au mois de Mars 1700, estoient venus de la Caroline par la Riviere de Ouabache avec un ordre pour S'establir sur les bords du Mississippi comme estant un pays de la dépendance de l'Angleterre." *Ibid.* It is by a branch of the Cumberland that several English came down from Carolina into Virginia who came to settle at the Acansa or Cappa. The English who came to settle at the Acansa in the month of March 1700, came from Carolina by the Wabash River with an order to settle on the banks of the Mississippi, as being a country of English dependence.

³ Iberville wrote that the English "se joignent a plusieurs Nations d'Indiens comme les quasquens Chaoienons et Loups qui Se Sont establis sur une des branches de la Rivlee Ouabache - - - -" *Ibid.* The English joined with several tribes of Indians, like the Chaouenos and Loups who were settled on one of the branches of the Wabash river. Dunn, J. P. *Indiana*, (1905) Ch. II. gives an excellent summary of English plans to gain possession of the western trade.

⁴ "Tous les passages pour les Courreurs de bois se trouveront bouchez qui plus est les mariant au Mississippi l'on se delivrera de cesgens pourveu qu'en Canada on veuille bien ne les pas souffrir d'avantage." *Ibid.*

⁵ Iberville proposed an army "assez forte pour destruire les establissements de la Virginie, Meriland, et Pensillevania." *Ibid.* C 13; C 2; 47. An army strong enough to destroy the settlements of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.

(Although this memorial is dated 1702, it speaks of the trade of Detroit, p. 47.)

garded the Wabash country as a part of Louisiana; yet Canadian merchants were already laying claim to its trade.⁶ They were vigorously supported by Frontenac who sought to secure a firm hold in the country by sending the elder Vincennes to establish a post among the Miami Indians.⁷

Iberville's urgings apparently received no consideration and nothing was done for nearly a quarter of a century. Frenchmen of Louisiana were to write memorials in regard to the coveted country while Canadians and English were fighting for its possession. Iberville had known that the country was rich in furs, and he thought that tanneries there would prove profitable. He thought also that lead mines could be worked to advantage.⁸

There are other descriptions of the country in the years following 1700 still more attractive than Iberville's. One writer added to the unlimited supply of furs and to the wealthy mines an extremely fertile soil. He described the woods as full of wild apples from which could be made excellent cider.⁹ He too feared that the English would seek to obtain the country and urged the construction of a post to bar them from descending the rivers. Yet another writer urged that a post on the "Ouabache" would be valuable for supplying the other posts of Louisiana with provisions.¹⁰ In 1708 appeared a *Memoir sur L'establissement d'une Compagnie de Commerce à la Louisiane*,¹¹ which advocated the establishment of a post there as necessary to defend the commerce of the Mississippi Valley from the advance of the

⁶ "fermiers du castor de Canadas ont demandé par leurs memoires de 1701 de rendre les limidri Canadas à Ouabache et d'y faire un établissement pour empescher le commerce de castor par là avec les Anglois d'établir un poste à Ouisconson sur le Misisipy." *Ibid.* 47.

⁷ Pierre Georges Roy, *Sieur de Vincennes Identified in Indiana Historical Society Publications* VII. No. 1, p. 35. This paper contains many documents regarding the efforts of the French in Canada to control the Ohio in the year 1700-1724. Transcripts of these documents are in the *Dominion Archives* at Ottawa.

⁸ *Memoires sur l'établissement de la Mobile*, 1702. *Ibid.* 51. There are frequent reports of lead mines. *Ibid.* C 13, A 6, 362 gives a glowing description.

⁹ F. Le Maire, 1718, "Tous les environs d'Ouabache sont un pays très fertile." *Ibid.* C 13, C 2; 162. All the lands along the Wabash are very fertile.

¹⁰ Du Clos speaks of two posts of great importance—Celuy d'Ouabache à cause des vivres qu'on en pourroit facilement retirer pour maintenir et conserver - - - -, the posts of St. Bernard and Illinois. *Ibid.* C 13, A 3; 545. The one on the Wabash because of the food provisions which one could easily obtain to maintain and (conserve) supply - - - -

¹¹ *Ibid.* C 13, A 2; 369.

English. In 1709 Mandeville described a trip on the Wabash with the Sr. de Sucheraux who was interested in the fur trade.¹² In 1718, F. le Maire made a most urgent plea for the fortification of the Ohio in order to keep out the English and secure the trade for the French.¹³ Another memorialist declared that unless their ways were barred the English would gain control of the Ohio and all of its tributaries. They could then build a fort at its mouth and extend their influence to New Mexico.. To secure this rich country the writer urged a post near the mouth of the Ohio and three missions, one of which should be at the junction of the Ohio and the Wabash.¹⁴ In 1720, the Mississippi Company advised the

¹² *Mémoire sur la Louisiane pour M. de Mandeville*, 1709. Mandeville wrote regarding the Wabash, "ou j'estoiso avec le Sr de Sucheraux intéressé pour le Commerce des Cuirs de Boeuf, vache, cerf, Biche, ours, chevreuil, Tigre, loup et autres sortes de menues pelletteries qui sont fort abondantes en ce continent." *Ibid.* C 13, A 2; 479. Where I was with Sr. de Sucheraux, interested in the commerce of the skins of the ox, cow, deer, hind, bears, horse, tiger, wolf, and other kinds of small fur which are very abundant in this continent.

¹³ Le Maire wrote, "Ouabache est la 2^e clef de la Louisiane" [The Mississippi is the first] "et il est de la dernière conséquence à la France de s'en assurer la possession par un bon fort, et un Etablissement considérable dans quelqu'une de ses fourches. Celle que forme la Rivière des Casquinambeaux me paroîtroit la plus de conséquence à fortifier parceque de cet endroit on peut barrer le chemin aux Anglois - - - Au reste outre qu'en fortifiant un bon poste sur cette Rivière on se mettroit à couvert de toutes les Entreprises que pourroient faire les Anglois sur le Miciscipi, on s'attireroit encore par ce moyen, le commerce de toutes les Nations de l'Est lequel est de très grande conséquence, et pour le profit qu'en tireroient les françois, et pour le dommage que Souffriroient les Anglois, si on leur enlevoit ce traffic qui seul leur vaut plus que tous les autres." *Ibid.* C 13 C 2; 162. The Wabash is the second work of the Louisiana and the last resort of the French of assuring it for themselves by a strong fort, and a considerable establishment in some one of its forks. That one, which forms the river Casquinambeaux seems to me the best to fortify because from this place we can block the road to the English. Moreover, other than fortifying a good post on this river, we can place a protection against all the enterprises which the English can carry on (or make) on the Mississippi,—or again by protecting ourselves by this means, the commerce of all the nations of the east, which is of very great importance, and by the profit which the French are drawing from it, and by the harm (or loss) which the English are suffering, if we can take away from them this traffic which alone they wish more than all the others.

¹⁴ This Mémoire, *Sur La Louisiane*, unsigned, probably written in 1716, declares that to keep out the English "il faut établir des postes avancés dans tous Les endroits par Lesquels ils pourroient pénétrer dans la Louisiane c'est à dire sur toutes Les rivières qui ont Leurs sources a l'Est - - - Mais L'endroit par Lequel Les Anglois peuvent plus aisément venir dans Le Miciscipi et même dans Le Missouri, C'est la Rivière Ouabache La quelle ayant reçu les rivières des Kaskinampaux et celles des Chaouanons qui ont Leurs sources tout proche de La Virginie, et la Rivière Ohio qui a sa source dans Le pays des Iroquois, se rend enfin dans Le Miciscipi." The writer believes that unless this is done the English will build a fort "à L'embouchure d'Ouabache, dont il sera im-

erection of a post on the Wabash. Charlevoix also considered the Wabash country of great importance.¹⁵

In spite of all these urgings, there was not enough force in the various governments of Louisiana to take advantage of the opportunities before them. Traders from Canada were, however, early in the field with only the competition of the English to threaten them.

In 1712 the French of Canada defeated the Foxes at Detroit and soon after Governor Vaudreuil sent the elder Vincennes to live among the Miamis in the Wabash country. In 1715 this adventurer was in the neighborhood of the modern Fort Wayne and making every effort to stop the trade of the Indians with the English.¹⁶ He apparently had some success and undoubtedly secured great influence among the Miamis.¹⁷ About 1718, his son, a boy of eighteen years, joined him.¹⁸ This boy was to spend the remainder of his life in the Wabash country and to found the post which the French of Louisiana had been urging for years.

possible de Les Chaser, et par Le moyen duquel fort ils se rendront maîtres du Miciscipi, et des payis qui sont a son Ouest jusqu'au Nouveau Mexique. 1e..... il faut incessamment faire construire un fort à L'embouchure d'Ouabache..... 2e.... Il faut obliger Les Jesuites d'établir une Mission dans L'endroit ou La rivière des Kaskinampaux entre dans Ouabache, Une autre Mission a L'endroit ou Ouabache reçoit La rivière des Chaouanons. Enfin une troisième Mission au confluent de La rivière Ohio dans celle d'Ouabache. . . . Il est à propos d'avoir a chacune de ces Missions dix soldats détachés de la Compagnie d'Ouabache.' *Ibid.* C 13 A 43; 188. It is necessary to establish posts advancing in all the places through which they can go into Louisiana, that is on all the rivers which have their sources in the east. But the place through which the English can most easily come into the Mississippi and even in the Missouri, is the Wabash river having received the rivers of Kaskinampaux and Chaouanous which have their sources quite near Virginia and the Ohio river which has its source in the country of the Iroquois, and finally emptying into the Mississippi. at the mouth of the Wabash and from which it will be impossible to chase them and by means of this fort they will make themselves mistress of the Mississippi, and of the country on the west to New Mexico. (1) it is very urgent to build a fort at the mouth of the Wabash. (2) it is necessary to oblige the Jesuits to establish a mission at the place where the Kaskinampaux river empties into the Wabash, another where the Wabash receives the river Chaouanous. Finally, a third mission where the Ohio and Wabash flow together. It is (advisable) timely to have at each of these missions ten soldiers detached from the country of the Wabash.

¹⁵ Winsor, *The Mississippi Basin*. 149.

¹⁶ Roy, *Vincennes Identified* 71. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, IX 931.

¹⁷ Roy, *Vincennes Identified*, 72.

¹⁸ It is improbable that any copies of this correspondence were sent to the French Colonial office and there can hardly be any other way of preserving it.

In 1719 the father died and his influence with the Miamis descended in large measure to the son. The young man rose in reputation, and some time after 1720 Boisbrilliant, the commander at the Illinois, apparently sought his services for Louisiana. The correspondence between them has probably been lost,¹⁹ but it is likely that the energetic commander of Fort de Chartres was planning to carry through the construction of the long-contemplated Wabash post, and desired the help of Vincennes in this undertaking. In 1724 Vaudreuil, the governor of Canada, knew of Boisbrilliant's schemes and wrote him a letter of protest. He declared that the Wabash country in no way belonged to Louisiana and objected to Boisbrilliant's efforts to draw Vincennes away from the service of Canada. He declared that if the efforts were continued he would appeal to the king.¹⁹

This correspondence probably brought to a head the dispute over the Wabash country which had been dragging along for a quarter of a century and had become acute after the annexation of the Illinois to Louisiana in 1717.²⁰ Vaudreuil claimed the Wabash as a part of Canada and its trade had hitherto gone by the Maumee to the St. Lawrence. The Wabash, however, was naturally an outpost of the Illinois country and was on the route by which the English were marching towards the Mississippi.

The Company of the Indies which had succeeded the Mississippi Company in control of Louisiana, hesitated to begin the fight for the territory in question. It was handicapped, moreover, by lack of funds and in 1724 decided to reduce the post of Illinois to eight men and to form no new posts.²¹ Boisbrilliant saw the danger and informed the officials of the company that the English would win over the Indians unless the French were quick to supply their needs.²² Boisbrilliant was probably acting under instructions from his cousin, Bien-

¹⁹ Roy, *Vincennes Identified*, 84, quotes Vaudreuil's letter to Boisbrilliant. Original is in *Archives du Canada* F. 56, p. 147. Transcript in *Dominion Archives*.

²⁰ Winsor, *The Mississippi Basin*, 148-9, briefly describes this dispute. *Deliberations du Conseil Supérieur de la Lousiane*, 6 Mars 1725. *Arc. Nat. Col. C* 13 A 9: 49.

²¹ Boisbrilliant *a la Cie Des Indes*, Feb. 9, 1725. Letter quoted by Roy, *Vincennes Identified*, 85, from Margry, *Mémoires et Documents pour Servir à L'Histoire des Origines Françaises des Pays d'Outre-Mer*. XVI. 657.

²²*Ibid.*

ville, governor of Louisiana. Bienville had doubtless been carrying on a correspondence with the Company of the Indies regarding the Wabash post and apparently his recommendations were looked upon with favor. It appears that he had already obtained sanction to start a post in this region, for in 1725 he wrote that he had delayed its construction for fear of not having enough merchandise to carry on a trade with the Indians. He declared at the same time that the small garrison maintained by Vaudreuil on the upper Wabash (near Ft. Wayne) could not keep out the English who had free access to the Mississippi by way of the Ohio, the Cumberland, and the Tennessee rivers. He urged as a further reason for assistance in building this post that there were a number of French families already settled on the Wabash who needed protection.²³ These settlers traded directly with the natives while the English still had to carry on their commerce through the Iroquois tribes that wintered on the upper Ohio.²⁴

The urgings of Bienville and Boisbrilliant apparently brought the Company of the Indies to the point of making a decision. In May, 1725, it asked the governor of New France to take measures to keep foreign traders out of the Wabash country. It suggested the construction of new posts to preserve communication between Canada and Louisiana and one of these posts was to be placed on the Wabash.²⁵ Later in the same year it wrote to Boisbrilliant asking him

²³*Arc. Nat. Col.* C13 C1; 398. Bienville Mémoire 1725; "Nous n'avons point de fort sur Ouabache une des plus considérables Rivières de ce Continent, on a toujours eu en veue d'y faire construire un. J'en avois moy-même envoyé un projet à la Compagnie, la disette dans la quelle Je me suis trouvé m'a empesché de l'exécuter aussy bien que la crainte de ne pouvoir soutenir mon entreprise faute marchandises nécessaires . . . un grand nombre de familles de Canada y Seroint desja établys . . . il est vray que M. de Vaudreuil gouverneur général du Canada tient une petit garnison Sur le haut de cette Rivière . . . il y faudroit une compagnie complète qui arresteroit les partis des Sauvages du Canada et mettroit les Voyageurs en état de faire leur chasse avec plus de securité . . ." We have no fort on the Wabash, one of the most important rivers on this continent. We have always thought of constructing one there. I have myself sent a plan to the company saying in it that I am very anxious to build it because of the fear of not being able to carry on my enterprise for lack of (?) necessary merchandise . . . a great number of Canadian families have already settled there . . . it is true that Mr. Vaudreuil, governor general of Canada, keeps a small garrison at the source of this river . . . a complete company will be necessary which can halt the savage parties from Canada and enable the travelers to make their journey with more security.

²⁴*Ibid.* 368. Bienville, vers. 1725.

to co-operate with Vincennes, who was still in command among the Miamis, in an effort to exclude the English.²⁶ It was probably due to the promptings of company officials that the king shortly after this instructed the governor general of Canada to order Vincennes to act with Boisbrilliant for the same purpose.²⁷

Boisbrilliant apparently opened negotiations with Vincennes at once. His efforts were hastened by the information that the Dutch from Albany had established posts on the upper Ohio, where they had built two mills "de Bates", a fort, and several store houses, abundantly supplied with goods. Since the French were short of merchandise and what they had was not of a kind to attract the Indians, Boisbrilliant feared that the newcomers would get most of the trade.²⁸ Bienville, however, urged that the fort be built, and recommended that Vincennes should command it.²⁹

Boisbrilliant's report regarding English activities probably stirred the Company of the Indies to action. In September, 1726, a letter was sent by the company to Perier, who had succeeded Bienville as governor of Louisiana, stating that the Wabash country was not yet occupied by any nation of Europe; but that if the English should establish themselves on any of the great rivers of this country, they could not only threaten the Illinois but could break communications between Louisiana and Canada. The company also gave orders to Perier to establish a post on the Wabash, if this danger was still threatening; and asked the governor of Canada to direct Vincennes, who was still among the Miamis, to co-operate with the commander of the new post.³⁰

²⁶ *Rapport Sur les Archives Canadiennes* 1904; p. 16.

²⁷ Margry, *Mémoires et Documents*, VI. 657, quoted by Roy, 86.

²⁷ *Archives du Canada*. B. XLII. See also Roy, 87.

²⁸ Boisbrilliant au Ministre de la Marine, Nouvelle Orléans, 13 Mars. 1726. *Arc. Nat. Col. C13 A9*; 347. Bienville at this time was in France defending his administration and Boisbrilliant was acting as governor of Louisiana.

²⁹ *Mémoire de la Comp. des Indes servant d'Instruction pour M. Perier nouvellement pourvu du Commandement général de la Louisiane* 30 7 bre 1716. *Ibid. C13 B. I.* This gives the substance of Boisbrilliant's report.

³⁰ "La Compagnie a ordonné l'Establishissement d'n poste sur la Rivière de Ouabache, et a prié M. Le Gouverneur de Canada de donner ordre de son costé au Sr. de Vincennes qui commande chez Les Ouiatanons Miamis Etablis vers le haut de Ouabache de S'entendre avec le Commandant du nouveau Poste." *Ibid.* The company has ordered the establishment of a post on the Wabash River and has asked the Governor of Canada to give the command of his poste to Mr.

The company even expressed its willingness, if the English were becoming too formidable, to build two posts; one on the Wabash and one on the Ohio. The instructions to Perier, however, suggested that Vincennes might be induced to enter their service for a gratuity of three hundred livres in addition to his pay. The company ended the letter by expressing the hope that if the English did not appear too dangerous and Vincennes could be bought over, it might be spared the expense of building even one post. It asked Perier to decide whether Vincennes and his Miamis with the assistance of eight or ten soldiers, might not be counted upon to hold the country.³¹

Perier apparently acted quickly in seeking an understanding by which Vincennes was to enter the service of Louisiana. In October, 1727, the company approved an arrangement by which he was to receive three hundred livres in addition to his salary.³² Vincennes, however, did not resign his Canadian commission immediately, for as late as October 15, 1729, he was still listed as an officer of New France.³³ The next year, however, the governor and intendant of Canada wrote: "The Ouyatonons have been led into the government of Louisiana by Sr. de Vincennes, who is entirely separated from this government."³⁴

The long delay before the new arrangement was fully understood may be explained by the slowness of communication. The news that the company approved his salary could

Vincennes who commands the Ouiatanons Miamis established near the source of the Wabash, to extend it with the commandant of the new post.

³¹ M. Perier Se consultera bien sur cette affaire et Examinera Si en donnant huit ou dix Soldats au Sr. de Vincennes avec le Missionnaire destiné pour Ouabache, il ne se trouveroit pas en Etat d'assurer par Ses Sauvages la communication de la Louisianne avec le Canada et d'Empescher les Anglois de pénétrer dans notre Colonie sans obliger la Compagnie de construire au bas de la Rivière de Ouabache un fort dont la dépense de l'Etablissement et l'Entretine de la garnison font un objet de Conséquence." *Ibid.* M. Perier will think over this affair carefully and see if on giving eight or ten soldiers to Vincennes with the Missionnaire destined for the Wabash, he will not find himself in the state of assuring peace. His savages the communication from Louisiana with Canada and prevent the English from going into our colony without necessitating the company to build at the mouth (or lower part) of the Wabash a fort of which the expense of building and keeping in repair the garrison is an object of consideration.

³² Compagnie de Indes à Perier et de la Chaise, Paris 27 Oct., 1727. *Ibid.* C13 A1; 93.

³³ *Archives du Canada.* F51, from Roy. *Opus Cita.* 89.

³⁴ *Archives du Canada. Correspondence générale.* F52, from Roy, 90.

not reach Vincennes before some time in the spring of 1728. In the fall of 1727 Perier, in accordance with the company's suggestion, had sent goods to supply a post on the Wabash and another on the Ohio,³⁵ but the boat in which they were shipped was stopped by the ice before it reached its destination and was compelled to return.³⁶ Furthermore, in the spring of 1728 Vincennes was taken seriously ill³⁷ and was unable to undertake any work until well into the summer.³⁸

On account of these delays the fort could not be started before the company had had time to lay down full instructions. In October, 1727, the company complained to Perier and to de la Chaise, the intendant of Louisiana, that it had received no recommendations regarding the site of the proposed post. The communication then proceeded to discuss in detail the available locations, pointing out that the purpose was to keep the English out of the Wabash country and to keep open communication between Louisiana and Canada. In view of these purposes the writer declared that the post must not be located at the junction of the "Ouabache" with the Mississippi, nor at the mouth of the Casquinaubous (Cumberland). Either of these locations would be too far down the river to attract the Miamis or receive their support. If the Miamis could be persuaded to move from their homes to

³⁵ Perier à Maurepas 15 Nov., 1827. *Arc. Nat. Col.* C13 A10; 234 . . . "notre unique attention doit estre d'Empescher les Anglois de S'approcher de cette colonie . . . C'est pourquoi J'ay Envoyé des marchandises pour Etablir le Poste de Ouabache et même en faire un Sur la rivière Ohio . . ." Our one attention should be to prevent the English from approaching this colony. That is why I have sent provisions to establish a post on the Wabash and even to build one on the Ohio.

³⁶ Perier et de la Chaise à la Compagnie des Indes 30 mars 1728. *Ibid.* C13 A11, 106. Celuy qui a été destiné pour ouabache a este retenu par les glaces au dessus des Arkansas. The one which was sent for the Wabash has been withheld by ice above the Arkansas.

³⁷ Perier et de la Chaise à la Cie des Indes. N. O. 9 avril, 1728. *Ibid.* C13 A11, 32. Le Sr. de Vincennes qui devoit Etablir le poste sur ouabache est descendu pour se faire guérir d'une maladie quil a, il est resté a l'habitation du Sr. Petit de Levilliers et N'a pu encore venir jusqu'icy, quand il y sera nous prendrons des mesures juste pr. cet Etablissement." Mr. Vincennes who is to establish the post on the Wabash has taken ill. He is at the home of Sr. Petit de Levilliers and has not yet been able to come here. When he comes we shall take just measures for this establishment.

³⁸ Same to same. N. O. 31 juillet, 1728. *Ibid.* 58. Le Sieur DeVincennes qui étoit resté malade a l'habitation du sieur Petit de Levilliers est descendu après sa guérison . . . Mr. Vincennes who was sick at the home of Sieur Petit de Levilliers has come down to his garrison.

the new post, continued the writer, the English would have no one to oppose them on the upper Ohio and Wabash and could easily get possession of the country and its trade. Owing to these considerations the company urged that the post should be established in the country of the Miamis. It suggested further that Vincennes should be under the direction of Desliettes who was then commander of the Illinois.³⁹

The new post was to be manned by ten soldiers and two officers. The company allowed 300 livres for construction of the fort and 1,170 livres for the subsistence of the men during the first year. It also allowed 800 livres for presents to the Indians. The pay of the soldiers and other expenses brought the total allowance for the year up to 3,230 livres.

Perier objected to the smallness of the company's allowance. He wrote that labor was high and that it would cost 600 instead of 300 livres to build a suitable fort. He declared also that for presents to the Indians not less than 3,000 livres should be set aside. He promised to go ahead with the project, however, and informed the company that he would leave the selection of a site for the post to Vincennes.⁴⁰

Vincennes was still too sick to undertake the expedition and it was four months after Perier promised to follow the company's instructions before he was able to set out.⁴¹ Vincennes apparently thought it best not to build a fort at once

³⁹ Cie des Indes à Perier et de la Chaise Paris 27 Oct., 1727. *Ibid.* 93. Reasons why the post should not be on the lower Wabash. "La première, que ce fort ne peut se soutenir que par le secours des sauvages Miamis, et qu'il n'y a pas d'apparence qu'on puisse les déterminer à venir se placer dans un lieu si éloigné du pays qu'ils occupent. La seconde, que quand ce fort seroit bien solide et appuyé par les Miamis au bord de la Rivière de Ouabache, non seulement cette disposition n'empêcheroit pas les Anglois de S'Etablir sur celle des trois Rivières en question qu'ils jugeroient à propos, mais encore Elle leur en procureroit les moyens, parce que n'y aient plus de sauvages dans le haut des Rivières qui pussent s'opposer à leurs desseins ils pourroient si fortifier, s'extender, et se mettre en Etat de tomber tout d'un coup sur l'Etablissement de Ouabache . . ." First, this fort cannot sustain itself except by the aid of the savage Miamis, and it is not likely that we can persuade them to come, settle in a place so far from the country which they occupy. Second, when this fort will be very solid and supported by the Miamis on the banks of the Wabash, not only this disposition will not prevent the English from establishing on these three rivers in question which they will justly judge, but still it will procure for them the means, because no longer having the savages at the source of the rivers which opposes their plans, they can fortify, extend, and place themselves in a position to suddenly fall on the Wabash establishment.

⁴⁰ Perier et de la Chaise à la Cie des Indes. N. O. 30 Mars., 1728. *Ibid.* 109.

⁴¹ Perier et de la Chaise à la Cie des Indes. 31 Juillet., 1728. *Ibid.* 58.

but to resume his residence among the Miamis.⁴² He gave as his reason that it would avoid a useless expense because the Indians would not move down to the place where he wished to locate the post. It is probable, too, that he did not feel that he had enough money to undertake the building of a fort, for the next spring Perier was still declaring that the project could not be carried through with the allowance the company had made.⁴³

Vincennes apparently did not keep in touch with the governor and intendant at New Orleans. There is occasional mention of the Wabash post during the next three or four years,⁴⁴ but in 1733 Salmon wrote that he did not know whether or not Vincennes had yet built his fort.⁴⁵ Vincennes, however, received his pay regularly and allowances for expenses⁴⁶ and in 1730 was described as "useful to the colony".⁴⁷

About March, 1733, Vincennes wrote a letter describing the location of his fort as eighty leagues above the junction of the Wabash and Ohio. He stated that the place was suitable for a big establishment and he would have made one there if he had had the force. He complained that he had no

⁴² Perier et de la Chaise à la Cie des Indes. 31 Juillet, 1728. *Ibid.* 58 Et il [Vincennes] a résolu qu'il resteroit parmy les Miamis ou ils auront son fort embulant affin d'Eviter une dépense qui deviendroit inutile parce que effectivement outre que Miamis ne viendroient pas tous S'établir sur les trois Rivières ce qui en resteroit Seroit capable de prester la main à l'Anglois au lieu qu'en restant parmy Eux comme il est aimé et Estimé de cette Nation. . . ." An he resolved to remain among the Miamis where they would have his fort *embulant* (?) in order to avoid an expense which would become useless because, surely, other, than the Miamis would not all settle on the three rivers, those who while remaining would be able to press the hand of the English in place of remaining among them as is loved and esteemed by that nation.

⁴³ 25 Mars., 1729. *Ibid.* 330.

⁴⁴ Denis, Commandant at Natchitoches, wrote 30 November, 1731. "A Ouabache qui a toujours été negligé." *Ibid.* C13 A13 170. Perier wrote "apres 1731." "La distance est grande et nous n'avons aucun posts que Ouabache qui est dans L'intérieur. *Ibid.* 238. To the Wabash which has always been neglected. The distance is great and we have no other posts except the Wabash which is in the interior.

⁴⁵ Salmon, Nouvelle Orléans, 1er fevrier, 1733. "A L'Égard de celuy d'Ouabache C'est le Sr. de Vincennes qui y commande. Je N'ay pu encore Scavoir de Ses Nouvelles. Je ne Scais point s'il y a un fort n'y en quel Etat il peut estre." *Ibid.* C13 A17, 28. To the watch of the Wabash. Mr. Vincennes commands it. I have not yet been able to learn of his news. I do not know whether he has a fort nor in what condition it is. Salmon had been in Louisiana only a short time.

⁴⁶ Liste des officiers et Commandants des postes de la Louisiane 19 Aout, 1732. *Ibid.* D2 C50, 31. Also *Ibid.* D2 D, 10.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* D2 C31, 89.

goods to trade and the English were carrying away all the furs. He believed that every year furs to the value of 30,000 livres could be obtained at this post.⁴⁸ About the same time, Vincennes wrote another letter "Du fort de Ouabache ce 21e mars 1733."⁴⁹

It appears evident that Vincennes lived among the Miamis for at least four years before building his post. It could not have been before late in 1732 or early in 1733 that the foundations for the new establishment were laid.⁵⁰

Every French post was supposed to be a mission, but there were many difficulties and delays before there was a mission on the Wabash. Every plan, however, for establishment of the post included provision for a missionary. In 1716 Crozat, who then held a patent for Louisiana, suggested that since the Jesuits were already in the Illinois country, they should furnish a priest for the Wabash.⁵¹ In 1724, provision was made for a mission as soon as the post should be established.⁵² The next year the Jesuit order in Louisiana

⁴⁸ Vers Mars., 1733. Du fort de Ouabache La proximité d e l'Anglais ille ma este impossible De faire rassembler toute des nations [of the Wabash] par ce quil a tout jours manqué De marchandise. Dans cettes androy le fort que jay fait faire est a quastre Ving lieux dans Le Uabache au Desus Ses Rivière par ou Les Anglois auroit peu D esendre et avoir commerce avec ces nations. Landroit est fort propre pour y faire Un gros Establissement, ce que j aurois fait si j'avois eut D es force. A Lesgard D u Commerce que Lonny peu faire, cest La pelleterie. Ille peut sorfir toute Les année D e ce poste pour trente millivre De pelleterie." [Signed] "Vinsenne." Toward March, 1733. From the Wabash fort. The nearness of the English has made it impossible for me to gather together all the tribes of the Wabash because there is always a lack of merchandise. In this place the fort which I have built is 80 leagues up the Wabash above the river where the English could have gone down and traded with the tribes. The place is very suitable to build a large establishment, which I would have done if I had had the means. In regard to the commerce which one can carry on, it is the fur trade. One can go out all year from this post to trade pounds of furs.

⁴⁹ Vinsennes Du fort de Ouabache. *Ibid.* 262.

⁵⁰ In 1772 the "habitants" of Vincennes in a memorial to General Gage stated "Notre Etablissement est de soixante et dix années." C. O. 5, 90. 265. Our establishment is seventy years old. If they were honest in their statement their traditions after forty years were entirely unreliable.

⁵¹ 23 juin., 1716. "Que par rapport aux deux postes qui Seront sur la Rivière Ouabache qui Sont fort près des Illinois on pourroit convenir avec les Jésuites quiy Sont déjà. (Recommendation. Approved by the "Conseil.") Arc. Nat. Col. C13 A4, 119. By the report of the two posts on the Wabash river which are very near the Illinois, we can please (or join with?) the Jesuits who are already * * *.

⁵² Etat des missionnaires des différents postes 20 dec., 1724. "Postes qui sont à Remplir: A Ouabache lors qu'il Sera Etably. Un Preste 600 lbs. Pour vin, farine, Cierges 195 lbs. Pour un Domestique 185.8. Total 980.8. *Ibid.* D2 D, 10.

definitely asked the Company of the Indies, which had succeeded to the control of the province, for the establishment of a number of missions, one of which should be on the Wabash.⁵³ The company agreed to build churches at a number of places and to maintain ten priests in the province. One of the missions was to be placed "at the fort which will be established on the Wabash."⁵⁴

Father Doutreleau⁵⁵ was appointed as the first priest of the Wabash mission apparently in the fall or winter of 1727. He embarked for his post with a "chapel" and materials for building a house and church. The boat in which he was traveling ran into ice above the mouth of the Arkansas and the missionary lost everything except his own life. Father Beaubois, superior of the Jesuits in Louisiana, estimated the losses at six thousand livres and asked the company for reimbursement. Perier and de la Chaise suggested that the company replace the lost chapel and credit the order to the sum of two thousand five hundred livres. The governor and intendant also relieved Beaubois from the necessity of sending a missionary to the Wabash, until such time as compensation could be given.⁵⁶

Posts which are to be supplied: Wabash when it will be established. A priest 600 lbs., wine, flour, candles, 195 lbs., a servant 185.8. Total 980.8.

⁵³ "Demandes des R. P. Jésuites. Il sera Etably des Missionnaires Jésuites Scavoir. Réponses de la Cie:

Aux Illinois ----- 3 2 Suffiront.

A Ouabache ----- 1 1 bon."

Ibid. C13 A10, 101. Demands from the R. P. Jesuits. There shall be sent some missionaries Jesuits:

To Illinois ----- 3 2 will suffice.

To Wabash ----- 1 1 good.

⁵⁴ 20 fevrier, 1726. *Ibid.* A22, 155-163.

⁵⁵ See *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, p. 342, for brief sketch of Father D'Outreleau. The note implies that in 1728 he was at the fort on the Wabash. As will be seen from the account of Father Beaubois this is not correct. Note 56. Dunn, Mission to the Ouabache in *Indiana Historical Society Publications* III, 278 gives a brief account of Father D'Outreleau.

⁵⁶ Beaubois, 10 avril, 1728. After describing Doutreleau's losses Beaubois declares that until they are reimbursed, "on n'Exige point de moy d'Envoyer à Ouabache aucun Missionnaire veu l'Impossibilité ou je suis de former cet Etablissement sans chapelle et sans avoir les fonds nécessairès pour bastir. *Ibid.* C13 A11, 189. They will not exact me to send to the Wabash any missionary in face of (?) the impossibility that I have of forming this establishment without a chapel and without the necessary funds to run it. Perier et de la Chaise à la Cie. des Indes, 9 avril, 1728, also explains the situation. (*Ibid.* 33) and on March 30 they write of the shipwreck. *Ibid.* 106.

Winsor writes that "Vincennes had been founded on the Wabash by Father Mermet." *The Mississippi Basin*, 84.

While waiting for a settlement of the Wabash losses, Father Doutreleau was sent to the Chickasaw post⁵⁷ but in 1729 he was still listed as attached to the Wabash. This project for a mission apparently was allowed to drop for nothing more is said of it. An official list of missionaries in Louisiana drawn up in 1731 made no mention of the Wabash.⁵⁸

In 1734 the governor and intendent of Louisiana wrote that a father de Guienne was at the Wabash on business for the Jesuits. A missionary there was badly needed and they requested Father de Beaubois to keep de Guienne there until they could hear from the company.⁵⁹ After this no mention of a missionary at the Wabash appears in the reports of the post until after the death of Vincennes.

In 1732 Bienville returned as governor of Louisiana and he at once renewed his plans for destroying the power of the Chickasaw and other Indian tribes friendly to the English. He ordered St. Ange, who was still in command at Fort de Chartres, to organize the Indians of the north to help in the proposed attack.⁶⁰ St. Ange reported, however, that the Indians of his territory were in bad humor and Vincennes declared that the tribes around his post were no less dissatisfied. The Wabash tribes were complaining because the French failed to supply them with the goods they wanted and were trading actively with the English.⁶¹ Vincennes complained

⁵⁷ Perier et Chaise à la Cie des Indes, 25 mars, 1729. *Ibid.* C13 A11, 324.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* C13 A13, 273.

⁵⁹ Bienville et Salmon, 15 avril, 1738. "Le P de Guienne est maintenant à Ouabache, on il est allé attendre les ordres de ses supérieurs. Il conviendroit qu'il y eut un missionnaire dans ce poste et nous avons prié le Père de Beaubois de l'engager a y rester, jusqu'à ce que nous ayons reçue réponse de Votre Grandeur" *Ibid.* C13 A18, 103. Father de Guienne is now at the Wabash, where he went to await the orders of his superiors. It would be convenient for there to be a missionary at this post and we have begged Father Beaubois to engage him to remain here until we receive a reply from 'your Highness.'

⁶⁰ St. Ange à de Bienville. Fort de Chartres, 30 avril, 1733, describes correspondence with Vincennes regarding a league of Indians... *Ibid.* C13 A17, 247.

⁶¹ Bienville et Salmon, 20 mai, 1733. Situation among the Illinois Indians reported alarming. "D'un autre Costé le Sr. de Vincennes qui commande aux miamis, marque que les sauvages établis sur Ouabache, ne sont pas plus Tranquilles que les Illinois, qu'il n'est point en Etat de les Empêcher d'avoir Commerce avec les Anglois, parce qu'il faudroit tous les faire revenir et qu'il n'a point de Marchandises pour les y Engager, que sa garnison d'ailleurs est trop faible pour Contenir ces nations." *Ibid.* C13 A16, 110. From another poste (?) Vincennes who commands the Miamis notices that the tribes on the Wabash are no more peaceful than the Illinois, that he is not in a position to keep them

that his garrison was too small to control the Indians. He asked for a force of thirty men and an officer.⁶² Although the fort at this time was in good condition it needed a veneer of stone to make it strong enough to withstand any attack and it would have to be made larger to accommodate any reinforcements. It contained barracks for the small force detached there and a house which Vincennes had built at his own expense.⁶³

Bienville decided to strengthen the position of Vincennes at once. He planned, furthermore, to use every effort to restore French authority on the Ohio and upper Mississippi. St. Ange, who was quite old, was relieved of the command of Fort de Chartres to make way for Captain D'artaguiette, a young and active officer.⁶⁴ Vincennes himself stood high in the confidence of Bienville who frequently praised him for his energy, wisdom, and general usefulness.⁶⁵ His great influence among the Miamis also told heavily in his favor.⁶⁶

from trading with the English, because it would be necessary to have them all return and he has no merchandise to trade them, his garrison, moreover, is too weak to control these tribes.

⁶² "Vinsenne", mars., 1733. "ille nest pas possible De rester Dans cette amdroyt avec su peut De troupe; ille faudroyt trente hommes avec une officer." *Ibid.* C13 A17, 260. It is not possible to remain in this place with so few troops. Thirty men and an officer are needed.

⁶³ Bienville et Salmon. *Nouvelle Orléans*, 8 avril, 1734. This gives substance of Vincennes' report. *Ibid.* C13 A18, 84.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* See "Estat des officiers entretenu à la Louisiane, 1733. St. Ange Pere Lieutt Reffe Commandt aux Illinois. Bon officier mais très vieur il s'est distingué à défaite des Renards." *Ibid.* D2 C50, 35. In Liste Apostille des officers—à la Louisiana, 25 avril, 1734. D'artaguiette was described as "Sert depuis, 1717 qu'il fut fait Enseigne et Capitaine en 1719, d'une conduite irreprochable, Judicieux, sage, désintéresse, Brave, et jaloux de son devois—Il eet agé de 33 ans." *Ibid.* D2 C51, 89. Good officer but very old, he distinguished himself at the defeat of Fox Indians. In the list of officers (?) at Louisiana, April 25, 1734. D'artaguiette served since 1717, he was made officer (enseigne) and Captain in 1719, of an irreproachable conduct, judicious, wise, interested, brave and jealous of his duty. He is 33 years old.

⁶⁵ In "Estat des officiers—à la Louisiane Paris, 6 mars., 1730." Vincennes was spoken of as "Bon, utile à la Colonie. *Ibid.* In "Liste apostille des officiers" 1734. Vincennes was described as "Il est Canadien, fils d'un enseigne d'infanterie en Canada, est vigoureux, actif, intelligent pour le gouvernement des sauvages Miamis par qui il a été adopté depuis quinze ans. Il est—agé de 30 ans." *Ibid.* 89. He is a Canadian, son of an officer of the infantry in Canada, is brave, active, knows the government of the Miamis among whom he has been for 15 years. He is 30 years old.

⁶⁶ 1733 "De Vincennes Lieutt Reffe Commandant Aoubache. Bon officier qui sert bien, qui est en grande considération chez les Miamis." *Ibid.* 248. Good officer who serves well, who is in good favor with the Miamis.

In the spring of 1733 war broke out between the French and the Chickasaws. These Indians had long been friends of the English and they were the most dangerous obstacle to Bienville's plans. They expressed a desire, however, to remain at peace with Vincennes and his Miamis, and sent a Frenchman whom they had captured, to Vincennes with direct proposals for peace.⁶⁷

Vincennes was in difficult straits. He was without Indian trading goods and the English were getting all the Indian furs. The Miamis were becoming insolent and Vincennes reported that he feared some evil among them. The Chickasaws soon renewed their hostility and were even threatening his post.⁶⁸

Beauharnois, the governor of Canada, was urging the northern Indians to begin war upon the Chickasaws. He sent a pipe and belt to the Illinois Indians to urge them to join in the attack. In the spring of 1733 many Indians were journeying south for the great attack.⁶⁹ The expedition, however, came to nothing. Bienville opposed the plans of Beauharnois to begin active fighting in the spring. The autumn, he argued, would be a more suitable time for the attack, for then the invading armies could live upon the provisions the Chickasaws had stored for the winter.⁷⁰

In spite of the threat of a general Indian war which would make the exposed Wabash post one of the most probable points of Indian attack, Vincennes decided, in the spring of 1733 to go to Canada. He had permission to make the trip from the governor of Canada, but apparently did not even take the trouble to ask for leave from his superiors in Louisiana. He informed Bienville that he was going to look after

⁶⁷ Louboey, 8 may, 1733. *Ibid.* C13 A17, 229. St. Ange to Bienville. *Ibid.* 248.

⁶⁸ Vincennes "vers Mars, 1733." *Ibid.* C13 A17, 259. Translation of this letter in Roy, *Opus Citra.* 92. Bienville and Salmon summarize the reports in their letter of May 20, 1733. *Arc. Nat. Col.* C13 A16, 110.

⁶⁹ Vincennes, 21 Mars, 1733. *Ibid.* 261. A translation of Vincennes' letter is given in Roy, *Opus Citra.* 93. St. Ange wrote of this Indian movement to Bienville April 30, 1733. *Arc. Nat. Col.* C13 A17, 247.

⁷⁰ Bienville et Salmon, 20 may, 1733. "L'automne est la seule qui convienne parce que alors en vivant au dépens de l'enemy on peut tenir longtemps la campagne. *Ibid.* C13 A16, 112. Autumn is the only time convenient because then, while living at the expense of the enemy, we can hold the country a long time.

some family affairs, but promised not to start unless everything looked peaceful among his Indians.

Vincennes began his journey in the spring of 1733 and did not return until the following winter. He came back with a complaint that Beauharnois required "habitants" of Illinois to buy a *congé* before he would allow them to return to their homes.⁷¹ He also reported to D'artaguette that more than a hundred Canadian families were ready to migrate to the Wabash and Illinois countries but were detained by the governor.⁷²

The spring of 1734 brought renewed activity in affairs of the Wabash. Bienville promised to furnish the thirty men that Vincennes had requested a year before, and ordered D'artaguette to supply them from his troops. He wrote that he regarded the Wabash post as one of the most important in the colony and that it must by all means be maintained.⁷³ Vincennes also had in mind to strengthen his position by bringing other Indians to reinforce those already at the post. There was a village of Piankishaws on the Wabash some sixty leagues above the post and these had been trading with the English. If Vincennes could bring them down to his post he would thus not only make his position more secure

⁷¹ Vincennes, 21 Mars, 1733. "Je vais partir dans quelques jours pour aller au grand village et si je voy tout tranquille je pouré desendre au Canada. Monsieur Le marquis De Beauharnois me marque qu'il me permet d'aller faire un tour pour vacqué aux affaires de ma famille, je ne ceré au plus que sinq mois. Dans ce voyage j'escrit a mr De st. ange quil anvoy M son fis a mon apsance." *Ibid.* C13 A17, 261. There seems to have been some misunderstanding about the command of the post in Vincennes' absence for on April 30, 1733, St. Ange wrote to Bienville concerning Vincennes "je luy ay demandé S il ne falloit pas mettre un officier à S a place et il me dit alors qu'un sergent Sufflisoit." *Ibid.* 250. I am going to leave in a few days to go to the great village and if everything is peaceful I shall go down to Canada. Marquis Beauharnois permits me to go to tend to some family affairs. I shall not remain longer than five months. In this voyage I wrote to mr. de st ange that he send his son to my aid. I reminded him that it was not necessary to place an officer in his place and he told me then that a sergeant would suffice.

⁷² Bienville, 22 avril, 1734. "Sr de Vincennes qui est arrivé cet hyver du Canada a rapporté a M. D'Artaguette que plus de Cent familles seroient venus avec luy pour S'Establir aux Illinois et a Ouabache si ils en avoient pu avoir la permission." *Ibid.* C13 A18, 142. Vincennes, who arrived this winter from Canada, reported to D'Artaguette that more than a hundred families would come with him to settle at Illinois and Wabash, if they could have the permission.

⁷³ Bienville, 22 avril, 1734. *Arc. Nat. Col.* C13 A18, 148. Dunn, *Mission of the Wabash*, 329, quotes another letter to the same effect.

but would also deprive the English of a source of considerable trade.⁷⁴

The English were continually increasing the volume of their trade in the Ohio valley and it was doubtless to check these activities that the French were giving so much attention to the Wabash fort. The English had two trading depots on the Ohio from which they were pushing to the southwest and the northwest.⁷⁵ Vincennes was entrusted with the task of keeping the Miami nations safe from the line of these invading rivals.

There were two difficulties in the way of the French plans. Vincennes lacked the trading goods the Indians loved and which they could buy cheaply from the English, and the French soldiers were discontented and undependable. Vincennes complained bitterly that his superiors failed to send him the necessary trading goods and in one letter gave a long list of missing articles.⁷⁶ In the spring of 1735, five men deserted the Wabash post and joined the English.⁷⁷ Desertions from Fort de Chartres were frequent. Bienville declared that the English were trying to win over the Choctaws and other Indians friendly to the French and form a great Indian confederacy under their control.⁷⁸

The danger was so threatening that Bienville resolved upon war. France and Great Britain were at peace but this did not deter him from forming plans to destroy the Indian friends of the rival nation.

His first objective was the Chickasaws who lived to the south of the Ohio. They had long been intercepting the French who were trading along the Mississippi. They dealt exclusively with the English and their destruction would seriously cripple English trade west of the Alleghanies.

Bienville, as a pretext for war, demanded the surrender of some Natchez Indians who had taken refuge among the

⁷⁴ Bienville, 22 avril, 1734. *Arc. Nat. Col.* C13 A18, 148. Dunn translates this letter but dates it July 27, 1734. *Mission of the Wabash*, 308.

⁷⁵ Bienville, 22 avril, 1734. *Arc. Nat. Col.* C13 A18, 149.

⁷⁶ Vincennes to Bienville, 22 avril, 1735. He lists shirts, guns, mirrors, combs, hats, powder, "English" cloth, shoes, collars and 2943 pounds of flour as missing from one order. *Ibid.* C13 A20 246.

⁷⁷ Bienville et Salmon, 16 mai, 1735. *Ibid.* 90.

⁷⁸ Report of Bienville, 28 juin, 1736. Quoting Salmon's letter of 7 fevrier, 1736. *Ibid.* C13 A21, 236.

Chickasaws after a disastrous war with the French. This demand was promptly refused and war began.

With an army of Frenchmen and Choctaws, Bienville planned to march north. D'Artaguette with a force composed of soldiers, *habitants*, and Illinois Indians, and Vincennes with his Miamis and a small band of Iroquois, were to march south. The rendezvous was fixed for Ecors à Prudhomme on the tenth of March, 1736.⁷⁹ At the same time, another expedition was to destroy the Shawnees.⁸⁰

For some reason Bienville did not leave Mobile until April 1,⁸¹ and it was the last of May when he reached the Chickasaw villages. D'Artaguette arrived at Ecors à Prudhomme the last of February or the first of March.⁸² A few days later Vincennes joined him. Here they built a fort of stones and sent scouts to locate Bienville. They returned with no information but some runners came down from the Illinois with news that Bienville had sent word he could not arrive at the rendezvous before the end of April. D'Artaguette called a council of war. The Indians declared that their provisions were nearly gone and they could not remain long. They proposed to attack a Chickasaw village which they had discovered some distance from the main camp. If they could capture enough provisions, they declared, they would then be willing to await the arrival of Bienville.

D'Artaguette agreed to this and on the night of March 24, the party stole to within a short distance of the village. Early the next morning the French and Indians made their attack. The fight had hardly started when four or five hundred Chickasaws came to the rescue of the village. The French and the Iroquois and Arkansas Indians stood bravely

⁷⁹ *Relations des Guerre de la Louisiane*, 1729-1736. *Ibid.* C13 B1. This narrative gives the forces of D'Artaguette and Vincennes as 21 soldiers, 85 habitants, 38 Iroquois, 28 Arkansas, 100 Illinois, 60 Miamis. Bienville gives the date as 10 or 11 March. Report of Bienville, 28 juin, 1736. *Ibid.* C13 A21, 133.

⁸⁰ Ecors à Prudhomme was located on the east bank of the Mississippi near the modern town of Fulton, Tennessee. It was believed that La Salle built a fort here. It received its name from a Canadian who died there. *Relation de la Louisiane par Penicourt*, 403.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 164.

⁸² *Relation de la Guerre des Chicachas*, *Ibid.* 164, gives March 4 as the day D'Artaguette reached Ecors à Prudhomme. *Relations des Guerres de la Louisiane*, 1729 et 1736, *Ibid.* C13 B1, gives February 28.

but the other Indians ran away. D'Artaguette was killed in action and possibly St. Ange, junior, his first lieutenant. Vincennes, Father Senat, and several other officers and men were taken prisoners and most of them were burned the same day; one account says "From three in the afternoon until towards midnight."⁸³ The remnant of the French forces was met by some reinforcements with whose assistance they succeeded in getting back to Ecors à Prudhomme on the twenty-ninth.

When Bienville arrived in the Chickasaw country two months later he found no trace of this party which he expected to join him. His scouts reported that the only Europeans of whom they could find any trace were English traders. He retreated without making a serious attack and blamed D'Artaguette for his ill-success. He, however, suffered a serious loss of prestige from this failure.⁸⁴ It was not long before he was planning another campaign to retrieve his reputation, but the English had already gained a firm foothold on the Ohio.⁸⁵

A son of the old St. Ange who had commanded at the Illinois, and a brother of the lieutenant who was killed at the Chickasaw village, succeeded Vincennes in command of the Wabash post. He was appointed at the solicitation of his father, but Bienville commended him as one who knew the savages and was known by them.⁸⁶ St Ange was promoted in 1749 to the rank of captain with half pay⁸⁷ and

⁸³ Rapport—par le Sr de Rickarville sur la guerre contre les Chicachas. *Ibid.* C13 C4, 202. Rickarville says he was held prisoner by the Chickasaws for eighteen months when he and another Frenchman, assisted to escape by an English trader, of whom there were a number among the Chickasaws, got away. He first reached Georgia and met Oglethorpe who allowed him to go north through the English colonies to Canada.

⁸⁴ Some time after this, February 15, 1737, Bienville wrote a rather lame letter of excuses to the Minister of Marine. *Ibid.* C13 A22, 70.

⁸⁵ Besides the accounts of the Chickasaws war mentioned above, Grandpré, who commanded among the Arkansas and led a body of reinforcements that arrived to cover the retreat, wrote a report dated "24 Xbre, 1728" [1738(?)]. This agrees in detail with the others.

⁸⁶ Bienville, 29 juin, 1736, wrote of him "il commande actuellement un petit poste sur le missouri. Et il y a Longtemps que Mr. D'artaguette, m'en avoit parlé comme d'un garçon brave et d'un grand mérite. *Ibid.* C13 A21. At present, he is commanding a small post on the Missouri, and a long time ago Mr. D'artaguette spoke to me of him, as being a brave boy and of great merit. Bienville again recommended him on October 30. *Ibid.* D2 C51, 142.

remained commander of the post until it was surrendered to the English.

His position was not an easy one. The Piankeshaws who had lived around the post left it and joined other kinsmen higher up the river at Vermillion.⁸⁸ This left the fort without adequate protection and cost it much of its usefulness as a trading post. It could no longer be regarded as a barrier to the English who were now working down the Ohio. The Cherokees and Chickasaws, apparently under English tutelage, had established their villages on the Ohio.⁸⁹ In view of all these circumstances Bienville soon ordered that the fort be moved to the junction of the two rivers.⁹⁰

For some reason Bienville's orders were not carried out. Perhaps it was because the removal would cost too much, perhaps because the next year the Cherokees and Chickasaws withdrew from their threatening position on the Ohio.⁹¹ Perhaps there was opposition to Bienville's choice of a location, for the site he had selected was low and unprotected. The next year Bienville wrote that Buissonniere, who commanded at Fort de Chartres, would go in the spring of 1739 to find the most suitable place for the new post. In 1740 the location had not yet been decided upon, but Bienville was still planning to send an engineer to examine the ground.⁹² He and Salmon had decided that it was best also to abandon the Illinois fort and build a great stone fort on the Wabash as an effective barrier against the English. They estimated the cost of this at 130,000 livres.⁹³ In 1741 Bienville decided that the mouth of the Cherokee river was the best

⁸⁷ Vaudreuil, 5 juin, 1748. *Ibid.* C13 A32, 254. *Etat general et apostille des officiers à la Louisiane*, 1758. *Ibid.* D2 C, 50.

⁸⁸ Bienville, 21 juin, 1737. *Ibid.* C13 A22, 103.

⁸⁹ Bienville, 5 Xbre, 1736. C13 A21, 219.

⁹⁰ See note 88. "Je luy envoieray les ordres pour ce changement qui ne sera pas d'une grande dépense." Salmon, 22 juin, 1737, wrote of the fort, "Je pense qu'Efectivement Il est plus Couteux qu'il n'est utile Cependant Il seroit de Conséquence de le conserver pour Empecher les Anglois de s'y Etablir, ce quils feront certainement si nous l'abandon nons." *Ibid.* C13 A21, 192. I shall send him orders for this change which will not be of a great expense.—I certainly think that it is more costly than it is useful. However, it will be important to keep it in order to prevent the English from settling it, which they will certainly do if we abandon it.

⁹¹ Bienville, 26 avril, 1738. *Ibid.* C13 A23, 48.

⁹² Bienville and Salmon, 24 juin, 1741. *Ibid.* C13 A25.

⁹³ 10 aug., 1739. *Ibid.* C13 A24, 12.

place for the new fort. The Wabash Indians, however, refused to remove there because, they said, the region was subject to inundation. Bienville suspected that Canadian traders were responsible for their objections⁹⁴ which put an end to his schemes.

In 1743 Vaudreuil succeeded Bienville as governor of Louisiana. He planned at once to send traders among all the Indian nations of his province and to do all in his power to make the fur trade flourish. He hoped by this means to increase French influence among the Indians, and thus to weaken the English. Another and very important part of his plan was to establish a fort on the Ohio, to stop the incursions of the Cherokees, and to check the ambition of the English.⁹⁵ This fort was to be of stone and would become the key to the colony. Without it he declared the English would cut the communications between Louisiana and Canada. He hoped to bring down to this fort the Kickapoos and Musquotins who had expressed their willingness to abandon their homes at "*terre haute*".⁹⁶ Vaudreuil further hoped to add to these tribes the Shawnee who, he wrote, had promised Beauharnois, three years before, to settle with them at "*terre haute*".⁹⁷ Soon after he wrote that the Shawnees had actually come down the Ohio and were ready to fall in with his plans.⁹⁸ A year later, however, he had come to distrust them because of the proximity of the English to the Wabash and urged that they be kept at Detroit.⁹⁹

De Bailly, who apparently had the confidence of the government, supported Vaudreuil's proposals by pointing out the many advantages of a post at the mouth of the Ohio. He declared that there the soil was rich, that buffalo were numerous, that it was an excellent place both for trade with the Indians and to hold communication between Louisiana and Canada. He maintained that the French could deliver goods by water to this post much more cheaply than the English

⁹⁴ 30 avril, 1741. *Ibid.* C13 A26.

⁹⁵ Vaudreuil, 6 xbre. 1744. *Ibid.* C13 A28, 245.

⁹⁶ 4 xbre, 1745. *Ibid.* C13 A29, 66. "les ayant trouvés déterminés à quitter leurs anciennes demeures à la terre haute." Having found them, determined to leave their old homes at "*terre haute*".

⁹⁷ 30 xbre, 1745. *Ibid.* 90.

⁹⁸ 6 fevrier, 1746. *Ibid.* C13 A30, 28.

⁹⁹ 8 avril, 1747. *Ibid.* C13 A31, 52.

could transport them across the mountains.¹⁰⁰ Apparently the king gave some sort of approval to Vaudreuil's plan and permission to establish the new post but no action was taken because the permission was not positive enough.¹⁰¹

During King George's war the English penetrated far into the Wabash country. In 1751 an English hunter was captured only a short distance from the Wabash post.¹⁰² The danger from the English became so great that in 1753 it was planned to send three thousand men to hold the Wabash and Ohio.¹⁰³ Kerlerec, who succeeded Vaudreuil, felt as keenly as his predecessor the danger from English invasions of the Wabash country.¹⁰⁴ He, too, believed that it was necessary to build a fort at the mouth of the Ohio.¹⁰⁵ He declared also that the French must supply more goods for the Indian trade. The Indians were complaining at the lack of attention, while the English had established six posts among the Cherokees.¹⁰⁶ All of these proposals apparently assumed that the Vincennes post should be abandoned and a new fort constructed in a better location.¹⁰⁷ Nothing was done, however, and Vincennes passed intact out of French hands.

Although Post Vincennes was always regarded by the French as a military post, yet it developed a civic life, of which we have only fleeting glimpses. The records of the

¹⁰⁰ M. de Bailly, 1749. *Arc. Nat. Cal.* C13 A33, 219.

¹⁰¹ Vaudreuil, 15 mai, 1751. "Sa Majesté en avoit gouté la proposition—et m'avoit laissé depuis la Liberté d'en former L'établissement que J'ay toujours différé pendant la guerre, pour n'avoir pas eu des ordres assez positives." *Ibid.* C13 A35, 129. His Majesty had approved of the proposition—and since has left me the liberty of forming the establishment which I have always put off during the war because I did not have enough positive orders.

¹⁰² Vaudreuil, 10 xbre, 1751. *Ibid.* 187.

¹⁰³ Kerlerec, 23 juin, 1754...*Ibid.* C13 A38, 79.

¹⁰⁴ Kerlerec, 1 er xbre, 1754. Ils parviendraient "S'ils se rendoient maîtres du Ouabache à Couper toute Communication de ce fleuve avec les Illinois et des Illinois avec le Canada." *Ibid.* C13 A39, 35. They will arrive if they make themselves masters of the Wabash to cut off all communication of this river with Illinois and of Illinois with Canada.

¹⁰⁵ Kerlerec, 1 er avril, 1756. *Ibid.* 149.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 181, 190.

¹⁰⁷ Mémoire après, 1755. After suggesting the construction of three forts, one on the Ohio, one on the Cumberland, and one on the Tennessee, the writer continues, "celui de Ste Anne [Ange(é)] deviendra alors inutile mais il pourra estre porté a 40 ou 50 lieues au dessus dans la belle Rivière et rebâti solidement." *Ibid.* C13 C1, 109. The one of St. Ange (?) will then become useless but it can be moved 40 or 50 leagues above on the Ohio River and re-established firmly.

village were reported lost "through rain, rats and insects," while they were in transport to Illinois after the surrender of the post to the English.¹⁰⁸ The *habitans*, however, sought to maintain their title to their lands by affidavits. One title was derived from a grant by Vincennes and confirmed by Bienville, though no date was given. Haldimand states that St. Ange apparently made about seventy grants during the twenty-eight years he commanded the post. Most of these were confirmed by Kerlerec who was governor of Louisiana from 1753 to 1763. Some, however, were confirmed by Vaudreuil who was governor for ten years preceding Kerlerec. D'abatie who succeeded Kerlerec, confirmed twelve titles.

The earliest dated title was 1749.¹⁰⁹ In 1758, Kerlerec reported that there were eighteen or twenty *habitans* beside the fifty men who composed the garrison. They supplied themselves, according to him, by the cultivation of wheat, corn and tobacco.¹¹⁰ These *habitans* were also much interested in trade. In 1754, they had threatened to abandon the settlement because restrictions had been placed on their trade. They protested, and received the support of Kerlerec.¹¹¹

There were probably seventy families living around Post Vincennes at the time of its surrender to the British.¹¹² Some

¹⁰⁸General Haldemand to Dartmouth, January 5, 1774. C. O. 5, 91, 35.

¹⁰⁹Ibid.

¹¹⁰Kerlerec, 12 xbre 1758. "A 6 Lieues plus haut en continuant de Monter Le Ouabache est le fort St. Ange—et 40 hommes de garnison il y a environ 18 our 20 bons habitans qui y font du froment, du tabac, et Du Mahis." Arc. Nat. Col. C13 A41, 136. At six leagues farther while continuing to go up the Wabash is Fort Ange—and forty men of the garrison. There are about 18 or 20 good habitants who raise there wheat, tobacco and corn.

¹¹¹Kerlerec, 17 xbre, 1754. " * * * les habitants Des ilinois Et de L'establissemnt du fort Vincennes (ou St. Ange) très mécontents Des priviléges traite exclusive que donne M. Duquesnes tant pour le Misouris que pour le fort Saint ange sont dans le dessein D'abandonner l'un Et l'autre de ces deux postes * * * les colons qui les habitent doivent Estre libres du commerce de leurs Denrées Et du fruit de leurs travaux pour les y maintenir." Ibid. C13 A38, 118. The inhabitants of the Illinois and of the establishment of Fort Vincennes (or St. Ange) (are) very discontented with the restrictions, excluding what Mr. Duquesnes gives, so much that the Missouri and St. Ange are planning to abandon both these posts * * * that the inhabitants ought to be free in their commerce and enjoy the fruit of their work in order to maintain them there.

¹¹²There were fifty-six heads of families who signed a memorial to General Gage, September 18, 1772 (C. O. 5, 90, 265). As already noted, there were about seventy grants of land made by St. Ange. An enclosure with the letter of General Gage to Hillsborough dated January 6, 1769, stated that at "St Vincents on the Ouabache there were 232 inhabitants." Ibid. 87, 75.

of them doubtless left with St. Ange to join their brothers who had crossed the Mississippi. In 1768, there were reported as still remaining 232 inhabitants besides 168 strangers. They possessed ten negro slaves and seventeen Indian slaves. They had two hundred and sixty head of horses, two hundred and ninety-five hogs, and nearly a thousand head of cattle. Their grain in the field was estimated at more than ten thousand bushels, and their tobacco at 36,360 pounds. They were also provided with three mills.¹¹³

Agriculture was probably not the chief means of livelihood of the men settled about the post. One officer reported that "at Post Vincent, there is no other Money passes but Peltry and generally Furrs, but I can Assure Your Excellency that no other person Except Bayntin & Company have given Bond that their Peltry shall be landed at a British Market. And it is certain that their is not one Twentieth part of the Trade in this Country, all the rest must of Consequence go to the French Markets."

He further declared that great quantities of French goods were daily introduced.¹¹⁴

General Gage was alarmed at the great number of strangers who had come to Vincennes. He declared that "Strollers and Vagabonds from Canada, Detroit, Illinois and other Places, have assembled there, to live a lazy kind of Indian Life or taken Shelter there from Justice."¹¹⁵ Apparently numerous reports came to him of French violations of rules regarding trade, for in 1772, he issued a proclamation ordering all the inhabitants of Vincennes and the Wabash country to abandon their homes and to go at once to some of the English colonies.¹¹⁶

The habitants responded in a spirited memorial that they were not vagabonds but peaceful cultivators of the soil. They protested that they had no means of transporting their wives and children to the other colonies, "with only a vain hope of

¹¹³ *Ibid.* 115. *Illinois Historical Collections* XI, 469.

¹¹⁴ Colonel Wilkins to General Gage, Ft. Chartres, 13 September, 1768. *Ibid.* 64.

¹¹⁵ Gage to Hillsborough, Jan. 6, 1769. *Ibid.* 75.

¹¹⁶ 8 April, 1772. Gage gave as his reason that "Ils mènent une vie vagabonde sans Gouvernement et sans Loi, interrompent le cours libre du Commerce, détruisent le Gibier, et causent des Brouilleries infernales dans le Pais." *Ibid.* 90, 281. They lead a vagabond life without government and without law, interrupting the free course of commerce, destroy the game, and cause infernal confusions in the peace.

being received as other subjects." They declared that their land titles were derived from the French king while he reigned over the country, and that they were protected by the treaty of peace. They furthermore denied all the charges that Gage had made against them.¹¹⁷

Gage was apparently impressed by the reply of the inhabitants of Vincennes, for he wrote to Dartmouth that he could not "venture to decide whether they are People settled under legal Titles or Strollers who have taken Land without authority." He believed that there might be some of both kinds.¹¹⁸

Gage soon left for England and Haldemand was left to handle the situation. He informed Dartmouth that the plan of removal was not feasible and that most of the accounts of Vincennes had come "from Jealous and self-interested Traders".¹¹⁹ He wrote to the people of Vincennes that the king would protect their rights under the treaty and would grant them every opportunity to prove title to their lands. Those that appeared just he would confirm.¹²⁰ With this promise, the inhabitants of Vincennes were apparently content. In accordance with the proclamation of 1763 no more grants of land were made¹²¹ and Vincennes doubtless went to sleep until the coming of George Rogers Clark.

The British never established any government of their own at Post Vincennes. When St. Ange left in 1754, the *habitans* apparently chose their own rulers. A. M. Chapart was commandant in 1768, and St. Marie took the position probably about 1770 and held it for several years. A statement to Haldemand in 1774 was signed by Pertheille "député de la part des habitants du poste Vincene", and Phillibert "notaire Royal".¹²²

The British, however, paid little attention to Vincennes and it was not until the expedition of George Rogers Clark that the post became for a brief period again an object of importance.

¹¹⁷ Memorial dated "A Vincennes le 18e 7bre, 1772. *Ibid.* 269 ff.

¹¹⁸ Gage to Dartmouth, May 5, 1773. *Ibid.* 302.

¹¹⁹ Haldemand to Dartmouth, Aug. 4, 1773. *Ibid.* 358.

¹²⁰ Haldemand A Mons de Ste Marie & Autres habitans des environs du Poste de Vincennes. le 2e Aoust, 1773. *Ibid.* 361.

¹²¹ In 1773, there was considerable correspondence between Haldemand and Dartmouth relative to preventing a Mr. Murray from buying land of the Indians, contrary to the king's proclamation. *Ibid.* 397, 407, 424.

¹²² *Ibid.* 91, 40, 41.

A Journal of Travel from New York to Indiana in 1827

BY DR. SAMUEL BERNARD JUDAH

The author of this little journal, Dr. Samuel Bernard Judah, was born in New York City in 1777, and was the son of Samuel Judah, the immigrant, who, coming from London about 1760, was a leading merchant of New York thereafter. This first Samuel Judah is mentioned in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* as an ardent supporter of the American Revolution, to which indeed he devoted the greater part of a not inconsiderable fortune. The only recompense he ever received for this was a personal letter of thanks and appreciation from George Washington. and that also was afterwards lost in a fire.

Dr. Judah lived in New York city all his life except a few years spent at New Brunswick, New Jersey, where his son Samuel Judah (later of Indiana) was a student at Rutgers college. This last named Samuel Judah graduated from college in 1816, studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1818, and shortly thereafter made his way to Indiana, locating in 1819 at Vincennes, then one of the most important towns in the state. By 1827 Samuel Judah had made for himself a professional reputation throughout the southern and central parts of the state, and for two years had been married. To visit his son was the principal object of Dr. Judah's trip.

The traveller was no longer young, physically rather delicate, and accustomed to what are called the comforts of life. One is amazed at his acceptance of rigors and hardships of travel which would appal and exhaust a strong man of today.

The *Journal* was written solely for the use of the writer himself, for future reference, statistics and recollections, without any thought of form or care to avoid repetition.

The only interest that these notes can now claim is as data of a long journey into our own west nearly a century ago; and as a description of life and conditions that happened to attract the writer's rather discursive attention. And it contains here and there personal touches disclosing the distinctive qualities of "types" whom the writer met, as well as something of the sophisticated attitude of an elderly city-man for the first time in a new country.

JOHN M. JUDAH

THE JOURNAL

New York, 13 Oct, 1827. This afternoon I went on board the steamboat "Constitution," Capt Cochran, and at 8 minutes past 5 we left New York with 186 passengers.—Supped at 6 o'clock—Played a rubber of whist and won a glass of brandy and water. A gentleman exchanged his berth for my settee. Went to bed at 10 o'clock.

Oct. 14th—Arose at 4 o'clock A. M.—wind and tyde against us.—At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 breakfasted—better breakfast than supper. Passed various places during the night and arrived at Albany at 9 A. M. 150 miles from New York. Went to Cousin K. Solomon's.

Oct. 15th—I am well—Dined at H. Hart's, and spent the evening and slept at Solomon's. This morning I breakfasted at Mrs. Leonard's and Dr. Stewart's—drank Tea at Dr. Stewart's and spent the evening at H. V. Hart's.

Oct. 16th. Left Albany at 9 A. M. in Thorpe's stage—passed Philip Schuyler's county seat—a 1 o'clock arrived at Schenectady, 15 miles from Albany—A great many Dutch houses—a dead-and-alive place—not time to visit Union College. The canal runs through this from Albany and is 360 miles to Buffalo.—200 bridges on the canal between this place and Utica. Nine passengers came with us from Albany to Schenectady, one woman, myself and seven others who were all Jacksonians. Given's House here to be avoided. We went on board the DeWitt Clinton packet on the canal at 2 p. m.—Passed through an aqueduct— $\frac{1}{4}$ past 9 p. m. went through Schcharie creek which is a dangerous place in the night—We were passed along by a line. At 10 o'clock went to bed—disagreeable and very uncomfortable bed and bedding—supper nothing to boast of.

17. Got up at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Good breakfast—came to Little Falls—5 locks—walked $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the village during the time the boat was going through the locks—an aqueduct across a stone bridge over which the boat crossed—a romantic spot, fit for gardens—A fine view of the Falls of the Mohawk—Very stony and rocky. The country is fine from Schenectady to the Little Falls—Great privileges for manufacturing purposes—

New brewery erecting, of brick;—10 o'clock a. m. German Flats—fine country and agriculture to perfection. Passed a village and old stone house which appeared to have been fortified during the Revolution—Saw Herkimer Village from a distance—handsome prospect—Rich country.—Passed boat loaded with oysters from New York towed by a canal boat. The bow of our boat ran hard against a lock & capsized everything in the Cabin—Stove & pipe down—Women all in a fright —Passed a boat called “The Jobs & Fox of London.” 4 p. m. arrived Utica—The canal 4 ft. deep, rise and fall 9 to 13 ft—I went to a house kept by Mr. Wells, on the canal—first rate house, Utica is a very handsome village. Dressed & delivered my letters to John E. Hinman. Was received politely. Spent the evening with him and returned to Wells’ House—Good bed and room. The Canal runs through Utica 1½ miles. It is a very flourishing place—Appears in every respect commercial —Boats departing and arriving—Wagons etc—Business very lively indeed. I like this place. Genesse St. very handsome—beautiful buildings.

Oct. 18th. This evening met Henry Stewart—Good breakfast—Wrote home—Visited Hart & Ponds Foundry, also the Utica Insurance Co.—Roman Catholic Chapel, 600 members —many new buildings going up—Mechanics the most wealthy people in the place. The Universalists hold their worship in the Court House. Spent the evening at J Green’s, Secy to the Insurance Co. and dined with Hinman, with 5 Baptist Ministers.—Spent my time very pleasantly. At 4 p. m. started in the Eagle lines of stages to H Stewart’s at Vernon—had a view of Clinton College. Arrived at Stewart’s at 7 p. m. Good supper and bed. Town beautifully situated—Merchant mill—Glass works for bottles etc.—window glass factory—3 stores —2 taverns out of 7 buildings. Stewart’s tavern well situated and has a great run of custom.

Oct. 19th.—Left Vernon at 8 a. m. Came to Oneida, a poor miserable village—Drunken Indian—Sullivan—Universalist Church, blacksmith the preacher—School House—Seminary—Manlius a pretty town—Cotton factory—Merchant Mill—Onondaga Hollow is beautiful—Meadows and farms handsome—Grist Mill—Academy—Indians—Miserable hill to

ascend. Arrived at Auburn at 8 p. m. Put up at Hudson's—good house.

Oct. 20th—Delivered my letters to Mr. Powers—Visited State's Prison—Had a view of everything—513 male and 23 female prisoners—saw them march to Dinner. Chaplain said prayers—Pine town, many good buildings. Visited Sally Martin—Bank Court House, ec.ec. dept. 2 o'clock I left Auburn in the opposition line of Stages. Col Mann & family from Boston were in the party. Crossed Cayuga Lake on a bridge 1 mile long—pretty town—steam boat in view coming down the Lake. On the canal boats coming here from the Erie Canal they rig masts and sails & navigate the Lake which is 40 miles long.—Geneva, a pretty town—Oil Mill, Woolen Factory—Pail Factory. Arrived here (Geneva) at 7 p. m. put up at the Madison House—very poor. This evening rain fell in torrents with a hurricane.

Oct. 21st—Still at Geneva—Pretty place—took no dinner, did not like the provision. Still rainy, stormy, disagreeable weather—6 barbers, 3,000 inhabitants—mostly Jacksonians. Slept here, the stage not arriving as expected. Supped as ordered by myself—pretty good.

Oct. 22nd—Weather still disagreeable. Stage arrived & I left here at 3 p. m., arriving at Canandagua at 7 p. m.—still raining.

Oct. 23rd—Canandagua is a beautiful place—Steam mill and windmill—steamboat on the lake, which is 20 miles long. There are 2 banks, Female Seminary, Academy, Court House, Arsenal, Jail—8 a. m. left this place—12 o'clock reached Bushnells, New Presbyterian Church building. Here whisky began to appear. Two very pretty girls got in here to go as far as Rochester—very agreeable. At 3 o'clock arrived at Rochester. To say anything in its favor would be needless—Very busy life—3 new churches building, and new houses in abundance—muddy over shoe tops—no rain, but cloudy with high winds. Put up at Noye's—good, genteel house. Delivered my letters to S. M. Smith—very polite—showed me the town, ec. I dined with him—7,000 inhabitants—Town is 3 miles from Lake Ontario—considerable trade with upper Canada. There is a Roman Catholic Chapel and a Quaker meeting, 4 very good public houses. Wool, Cotton, Pail and Sash

factories—8 acres given by an individual for a college. A beautiful aqueduct on a bridge over which the canal boats pass and repass—Astonishing! Met Billy Van Dorn—much altered.

Oct. 24th—Left Rochester at 5 a. m. Traveled with a very clever fellow named Dibble—a lawyer—passed Gainsborough, Bridgeway, Hartland—here commenced the Ridge road. I never saw a more perfect road. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 p. m. arrived at Lewiston—a village of Tuscarora Indians, upper Canada opposite. Placed burned during the last war. Now rebuilt.

Oct. 25th—Left Lewiston at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 a. m.—arrived at Niagara Falls at 9. Falls grand beyond description. Large paper mills. I do not like the village. At 2 p. m. arrived at Tonawanda, on Niagara River—roads very bad. $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 p. m. arrived at Buffalo. I suppose there are greater prospects of increasing commerce here than at any place in the State of New York. Lake Erie—a beautiful prospect. The Steamer Superior left here at noon. The Henry Clay does not leave until the 30th—So I left Buffalo on the Steamboat Pioneer for Dunkirk. Owing to shaft breaking put back to Buffalo.

Oct. 26th—Left Buffalo at 6 a. m. in a common wagon with oil cloth cover with 6 passengers over a railroad—fine view of the lake. Breakfast at Hamburg 10 a. m.—4 p. m. arrived at Cataraugus Creek. Here I came near to getting into a hobble. From Buffalo to this place there was a foot traveler who kept ahead of us. On getting here he was here before us. He was meanly dressed and carried a pack on his back. On stopping at the Tavern I spoke to him and offered him a drink, commanding his spirit in walking. He declined and took a seat in the stage. I now learned that he was a Judge of Cataraugus County, a drover—had been to New York, was rich. I was mortified—a good lesson to me. Traveled 30 miles along the Lake Shore to this place. A fine bridge owned by Rufus S. Reed, who receives toll. Here we took post coaches and at 9 p. m. arrived at Freedonia 3 miles from Dunkirk on Lake Erie. Baptist and Presbyterian Churches here—Nasty, dirty bed and bedding. Left this place with pleasure—never disliked a place so much in my life.

Oct. 27th—Left Fredonia at 9 a. m., and at 12 arrived at Westfield where we had a good breakfast—and then to Ripley. This finishes my tour in the good and great State of New York—587 miles to New York City. At 3 p. m. entered the State of Pennsylvania at the village of North East, where an Irishman keeps a tavern in a log cabin. Says he has been here 28 years—happy and contented. Says he is a prince. Has a farm of 150 acres, with everything plenty about him. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 p. m. arrived at Erie on the Lake—still rainy and stormy. At 9 p. m. passed the line, into Ohio. Rode all night.

Oct 28th—At 4:30 a. m. arrived at Salem and at 8 at Ashtabula for breakfast. A bood wholesome girl traveled with us the last 43 miles, hunting her husband who had left her—poor thing—get another! Crossed Grand River—2 Forges, 4 Furnaces, Grist Mill—beautiful meadows here to be seen—pretty village. Mr. Bayard, of Princeton, NJ., joined me at Erie—Town at Chaplin. Thus far, through Pennsylvania, it is common for the farmers to have their barns on the front of the road and their log cabins behind. Common for the women to break and hackle the flax and work in the fields. Plenty of buckwheat raised. At 8 p. m. arrived at Cleveland—still rainy & very stormy—waters very high & dangerous to cross—very bad roads. Cleveland is a very handsome place. Ohio canal completed 38 miles to Akron. Prospects of business here are very great.

Oct. 29th—Had to remain at Cleveland this day for want of a stage. 4 packet boats & 8 canal boats on the canal. Living is cheap—foreign goods low priced—people well informed—log cabins planty—good orchards—7 lawyers.

Oct. 30th—It having rained & stormed to such a degree that bridges were carried away, I left Cleveland at 7 a. m. Breakfast at Bedford—Mrs. King got in—passed through a large stream—very high water—Misery in all its shapes here began to make its appearance—Children naked—mud up to their knees & appeared not to have been washed for a month. Whisky more & more drank. Plenty appeared to be in the hands of every one & independence in reality. Passed Town of Hudson—a new college used as an Academy, Handsome country—miserable roads—rainy & stormy. Then Middlebury—a neat town in a swamp. Arrived at 7 p. m. and stopped at

pretty good house kept by a Yankee—2 weeks in this country —yet a real clever Yankee—has a son, a minister, and 2 handsome daughters, kept out of view, but peeking to see the passengers.

Oct. 31st—Left Middleburg at 6 a. m., very bad roads—drunken driver—swamped—still raining. At 10 p. m. arrived at Wooster—Oil mill, Saw mill, Grist mill—very bad roads—continual accidents—broke down 8 miles from Wooster. Mr. Bayard and driver went 2 miles for help. Esq. Smith came and repaired us so as to proceed to Wooster. Jovial landlord, good supper, poor bed, dirty house, fine country, plenty & cheap. Cornstalks 10 ft high. Still stormy & rainy.

November 1.—At 7 a. m. left Wooster. Commenced with bad roads & up & down hill. Breakfast at Lowden's—could not eat. 11 p. m. arrived at Mt. Vernon—stage upset and I lost my night cap & handkerchief. Rode through a swamp 12 miles without seeing a cabin. Mrs. King fainted. Considerable business here. Butter 6 d. Wheat flour 1 12; Corn 12½ c bushel Fowls 4 d; turkeys 18¾; ducks 6¼ Geese 9 to 12½ Pork 1½ to 2; Beef 2 c to 3 d lb. veal 4 c to 6 c Mutton 2 c; wood 75 c a cord; Dry goods and groceries very high—about twice New York prices.

Nov. 2nd—Up at 7 a. m. no stage till tomorrow. Five of us hired an open wagon & left Mt. Vernon. 27 miles to Curtis's at 9 p. m.—wealthy farmer—Good house and meals.

Nov. 3rd—Left Curtis's at 10 a. m. having been detained on acct. of storm and at 3 p. m. arrived at Columbus. Good Tavern—spent a pleasant evening.

Nov. 4th—Delivered my letters to R. Osborn and Dr. Goodell—well received. Visited the State House & Penitentiary—poor miserable dirty building—116 prisoners—Mr. McLean Keeper of Penitentiary very polite—brother of the Post Master Genl. Went this morning to the Presbyterian Church—about 100 persons present.

Nov. 5th—2 a. m. left Columbus—fair weather. At 20 miles stopped at a log house miserable in the extreme for breakfast. Young man just departed this life with the sick stomach, a common disease in some parts of Ohio. Noon, Springfield—rich country—handsome Court House—6 p. m. arrived at Dayton.

Nov. 6th—Left Dayton at 2 a. m. Passed Miamisburg—Franklin—Hamilton—pretty town—covered bridge 1/3 mile long—then bad roads & dangerous raining. 7 p. m. arrived at Cincinnati & put up at Washington Hall. Passed in this State 181 waggons of emigrants going west.

Nov. 7th—Delivered my letters to Messrs. Lydall, Bates, Barr, Jonas—well received and was also introduced to Dr. Price and Dr. Wright. Fine weather at last. Spent a pleasant time. Visited the Medical School with Dr. Wright and heard Mr. Slack deliver his lecture introductory to the study of Chemistry—Since I left New York this makes 6 fine days out of 24—Indian Summer now. At the lower market I counted 198 waggons—prices 1/3 higher than 50 miles back—plenty of every thing—fine fish—apples 6c the peck turnips & potatoes 25c the bushel—dry goods & groceries nearly as cheap as in New York—Greater bustle & stir here than in New York in proportion. In 1818 there were 4,000 inhabitants here. Now there are 18,000 to 20,000. Fine State, happy people, independent and easy in every particular.

Nov. 9th—Having rec'd. so much politeness and attention while here I left with regret, and at 5:30 p. m. went on board the steamboat Cincinnati for Louisville. 10 miles below Cin-

¹ It may be interesting to notice the conditions of travel between Cincinnati and Louisville a few years before Dr. Judah's trip. In the fall of 1816 Armstrong Brandon removed from Piqua, Ohio, to Corydon the new state capital of Indiana. His family consisted of his wife and little daughter, Harriet, 8 years old, who afterwards became the wife of Samuel Judah of Vincennes. She thus describes their trip:

"We traveled by land to Cincinnati and there with Mr. Lodge's family embarked in a small flatboat called a family boat. When the boat landed, to stop for any length of time, I followed my father in his rambles over the country. My delight was greatest first seeing an orchard of rosy apples. I suppose it was not a strange thing to see orchards about Cincinnati, but in the vicinity of Piqua the orchards were still young. We landed at Jeffersonville and hired wagons to take us to Corydon—passing through New Albany where there were 2 or 3 cabins, one with a coonskin nailed on the outside.

Two years after, in the summer of 1818 we made a visit to our friends in Ohio. We went from Corydon to Jeffersonville. On examining the boats they were found to be so inconvenient that my father thought it best to go by land. The boats to go up the Ohio called barges, were propelled by oars and sometimes sails, when the wind was favorable. The time from Louisville to Cincinnati averaged 2 weeks. As yet there was not a steamboat plying the river above the falls at Louisville. To go by stage we had to go up to Georgetown, Ky., and from there to Cincinnati. On the Indiana side the mail was carried on horseback."

Hulbert, *The Ohio River* states that beginning in 1811 three or four steam-boats built on the upper Ohio, descended to New Orleans, but their engine power was insufficient for returning against the current. He fixes the fall of 1817, as

cinnati we took on 54 coops, 520 turkeys, for New Orleans. Night view of Lawrenceburg & passed several other places. Other places which may be known by reference to Morse's Geography. Excellent & plentiful table on boat. Disagreeable night—had to anchor 3 hours on acct. of fog. Gave my card to Maj. Ely of Ky.

Nov. 10th—Jeffersonville, Ind.—a Penitentiary in view. At 11 a. m. landed at Louisville. Put up at Allen's—first rate house. Took my passage in mail stage for Vincennes, starting at 2 a. m. tomorrow. This place is not to be compared with Cincinnati. About 10,000 inhabitants, 400 prostitutes. Poor market.

Nov. 11th 5 a. m.—Left Louisville in stage to Portland, below the Falls and crossed in a house boat.—7 a. m. At 8 p. m. arrived at Paoli, and took quarters in a log cabin—5 beds in a room—2 in a bed—had a bed to myself. Bill Lynch's house. Academy, Court House—Mill—Tannery. Settlers mostly Quakers, decent people.

Nov. 12th—Breakfasted at Judge Foils—very good, but I ate too much wild turkey—first I have seen. Crossed White River in a scow—Hindostan—dined at Washington, Daviess Co. At 7 p. m. arrived at Vincennes. Very disagreeable ride. Supped at Clark's Tavern, and at 8 went to Samuel's he being at Indianapolis, attending the Supreme Ct. Received by Mrs. Judah and her mother Mrs. Brandon.

Nov. 14—Today at 4 p. m. Samuel returned—I have spent my time very pleasantly the last two days—Had a view of the prairies on fire at night from Samuel's piazza. I am now 1,260 miles from New York. Vincennes is a melancholy-looking place. Good brick Court House—brick seminary—a few good brick houses, Genl Harrison's the most attractive. Samuel lives in a 2 story frame. 26 ft front 20 deep, 3 rooms below, also Kitchen & Smoke house, poorly built—Indeed all the houses in the west are so. There are 1600 inhabitants—7 stores well stocked—trade for 40 miles around—profits large. \$10,000 worth of goods is a full stock for the largest merchant

the date of the commencement of steam navigation in the Mississippi valley, more powerful engines having been invented and then first employed between New Orleans and Louisville, where the falls were an obstacle. He does not give any date as to steam navigation of the upper Ohio. Probably it should date from 1819.

J. M. J.

for a year. The principal inhabitants get their groceries from New Orleans. There is a cotton factory on a small scale operated by an Ox-mill, and a good public Library of 1800 vols. Very few of the houses are painted. Town lots are \$35 to \$50 the acre. Soil is sandy loam. Horticulture not much attended to. Samuel has the best garden here, tho only 1 year old. He has asparagus & celery, which are not common. His lot is 2½ acres, fine well—sheep; 2 horses, 2 cows, bee hives.

Emigrants pass daily, the poor to Illinois, the richer to Missouri, the middle class of emigrants go to Indiana and Michigan, Illinois has a bad name, bad roads and bad public houses.

Indiana now has a population of 270,000; and this County (Knox) has 5000. Laborers wages are 37½c a day and found.

Was present at Samuel's office at an examination of some witnesses, sworn without book. Their words were written down by Saml and repeated by a Judge Moon. They were Canadian French. These people resemble the Canadians of Upper Canada & have all their ways & customs, and are the descendants of those employed here by the fur traders 60 or 70 years ago.

The County Clerk is Homer Johnson. He is also Major-General of Militia, tavern keeper, schoolmaster, surveyor, doctor, & singing master.

This being Sunday I went with Mrs. Brandon to the Methodist Meeting. 25 women, 18 men—considering all things it was pretty good. A raw young countryman exhorted—bad singing. Mr. Perrin, the Presbyterian preacher, said to be good. The people here are generally more on the moral order than given to priest craft; ministers are not much encouraged.

Nov. 20th—Winter has commenced very early here. Indian Summer is ended.

Nov. 21st—Fine morning—bright sun, but very cold. Flour \$2.00 cwt, corn 10c bushel—cows \$6—Beech & Sugar wood 75c cord. The plain people live on cornbread & hominy. Children are fed on mush & milk, economy is the custom. People are generally poorly clad—many blacks, poor miserable race. So much can be raised that the people in general labor but little. They have a great deal of pride.

Was introduced to a lawyer, General Johnson—not a military man—looked like anything but his name—poorly clad—summer pantaloons, shabby clothes & a cloak to hide all.

Though Whisky is drunk like water, considering the large population of Ohio and Indiana, I have seen fewer drunkards than I expected. Men drink it by the quart & even the wealthy prefer it to any of the foreign liquors. Orchards and fruits are abundant. The apples about Louisville were fine.

I have been makeing up my accounts. I spent 13½ days on the way when not traveling—delayed by storms & alterations of stage-days, viewing different places and a stop of 3 days in Cincinnati. Including washings and postage, the total is \$75.85. Generally I have ridden until 10 or 11 o'clock at night—often up by 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning—but had only 2 whole night's rides, and only slept 2 nights in log Cabins.

Nov. 24th—It seems that the prevailing desire in the Western States is to have land, rather than money, tho land is very cheap. Yet I do not think a man of family can live cheaper in Vincennes than in New Brunswick, N. J. Fine farms near Vincennes can be bought at \$2 or \$3 the acre. A hard working man can buy the best of land from the U. S. at \$1.25 the acre & in a very few years by industry can become an independent farmer and be what is called a good liver—that is, eat plenty of corn-bread—and pork into the bargain—but no molasses. Deliver me from their cookery.

I have been perfectly well since I have been in Vincennes—look & feel better. I can not drink whiskey. Saml has some which is old, though it smells somewhat like bedbugs. I must say that I have eaten more than I did during the time I was coming from Buffalo here. The food at Samuel's is very good, tho, they have too much of everything—because it's plenty & cheap.²

Nov. 26th—I have now been 15 days in Vincennes and have concluded to start home tomorrow morning—have taken my

² It was told afterward that the young mistress of house, in her desire to offer something fine to her father-in-law, procured with difficulty some salt cod-fish, which she served to the guest with modest pride—much to the secret amusement of her husband, who later in private explained to her that codfish to a man from the seaboard was not so much a delicacy as the quail, venison and wild turkey which were so frequently part of their own fare.

passage in the stage for Louisville. I shall sleep at Clark's Tavern to be in readiness for starting at 4 a. m.

Nov. 27th—Left Vincennes at 4 a. m.—breakfasted at Perry's at $7\frac{1}{2}$. Got to Washington, Daviess Co. at $10\frac{1}{2}$ a. m. Corn 6 d. the bushel—whiskey 16c the gallon here—stopped at Paoli to water & went on to Judge Chambers', 10 p. m.

Nov. 28th—Breakfasted at Chamber's & started at 7 a. m.—rainy and disagreeable. 4 p. m. got to New Albany and crossed the Ohio in a horse-boat. Lewisville 5 p. m. At 5:30 engaged passage to Wheeling, 600 miles, for \$18.00, being a saving of \$3, as against going to Cincinnati, & thence to Wheeling. Left Lewisville at 6 p. m.—Steamer Fairy—fine little boat—6 passengers in the Cabin, 34 on deck—Very fortunate in finding a boat at Lewisville. Good supper at 8 o'clock & to bed at 11.

Nov. 29th—Was introduced to Dr. Canby of Madison, Ind. State Senator and a well-informed man. He is a friend of Samuel's whom he expects to see in Indianapolis next week. F. W. Smith, a Kentucky gentleman very clever, is going to near Washington City & we have concluded to keep company. On this boat we have breakfast at 8: Luncheon at 12, Dinner at 2: Tea at 6. and "Cold Cut" at 9 p. m. all of first rate cooking and provisions—Passed Fredericksburg, Ky. Here on the shore they were killing 2800 hogs, & melting & barrelling lard for the New Orleans Market—a very great sight. Arrived at Cincinnati at midnight.

Nov. 30—Cincinnati. Slept at Cromwell's. During our stay here I take my meals on the boat. In the same room with me at Cromwell's was a young Kentuckian, who on getting up came to my bed and said. "Sir, are you from the East?" I told him I was, He then said: "Sir, I have graduated at Transylvania College, my name is Peter Breckinridge, with an M.D. to it. I am going to Philadelphia with my horse and gig to attend the Medical Lectures, and after that with my horse & gig to New York, and thence to New Orleans and then home." He wished my advice as I was an eastern man. I told him to take his horse & gig home & return & go up the river and take stage to Philadelphia & New York, and in the spring return and take one of the packets to New Orleans and return. He was thankful, said it was the best advice he

had rec'd. He was full of cash, and appeared to be everything but an M.D. He returned to Ky. with his horse & gig, and I saw him no more. At Louisville I was offered a passage on a packet to New Orleans for \$20.

Went to Reading Room & read the New York papers. Made various calls—Dr Price—Dr Wright—Robt F Lydell, who took me to the Criminal Court where we saw 2 trials—1 for theft and 1 for assault & Battery. Mr De Young and Miss Joseph were married on the 21st. I called on them—Cakes & wine. They gave me a packet of Bridescake to be delivered to Piexotto at Philadelphia for distribution to the damsels there.

Met Dr Asher a quack who was in New Brunswick 8 or 9 years ago & who did commit a theft by taking Joe Dunn's silver spoons. Had a very agreeable day & at 5 p. m. went on board the Fairy again, & at 6:15 we bade adieu to Cincinnati, with 11 new cabin passengers, 3 of them ladies & I don't know haw many deck passengers—Played a rubber of whist, Fine evening.

Dec. 1st—Most of the Kentuckians are gamblers. The Kentuckians generally seem full of cash. Seven of the passengers played at cards till 1 a. m. Most of the passengers are Jacksonians. In the night one of the Deck passengers made off with the boat. We stopped at Limestone, the proper name of which is Maysville—pretty town.

Dec. 2d—Got up at 6 O'clock—found the men unloading 40 tons of lead on to the bank at Portsmouth, Ohio. The boat being now light we go faster. 11 a. m. stopped to repair one of the wheels. Went ashore & walked—After an hour the repair being made, we proceeded. 6 p. m. passed mouth of the Big Sandy River. At 9 we overtook the steamer Pennsylvania aground. She left Cincinnati 2 days before us. We took her passengers.

Dec. 3rd—Cloudy morning—Big Kanawha River—Coal mines. We have dragged on bottom several times. Moonlight night—Unwell.

Dec. 4th—Rainy & disagreeable—I am better, Views on the River are beautiful. The Indian name Ohio signifies beautiful stream & it deserves this title. It is a grand and novel sight for one who had no idea of the western States to hourly see boats ascending & descending the inland river—besides the

great number of flat or keeled boats loaded with produce for New Orleans. In the east it would be considered a dangerous navigation, but nothing is thought of it here, tho many strikes sawyers & sink & great loss is sustained. This trade gives employment to hundreds of men. These flatboatmen return up the river in steamboats as deck passengers which costs them nothing. Deck passengers are required to help loading & unloading. Ten years ago the flatboatmen returned on foot & experienced great hardships. Case is now altered. The advancement of the West is surprising. Happy people; all they want is the ambition of the East—Too little labor.

The morning fogs are very disagreeable, & unless you take some liquor you feel the effects. Of course, say the people of the west whisky, is the first of all good. I have not however, seen an habitual drunkard, tho whisky is drunk like water. The Tuscaloosa & Monongohala whiskies are the best. The wine of Vevay may rank as good summer wine, but I do not like it.

Arrived at Wheeling at 11 p. m. Stormy, rainy & Dark—762 miles from Vincennes—96 miles by water to Pittsburg, and 50 by land.

Dec. 5th—I have lived well & enjoyed myself on board the Fairy—at 5 a. m. being yet dark went to Sanmis's Tavern—good house. The stages start from it. Very muddy. Not much business except transportation. At 1 p. m. left in the mail stage for the East—Road runs along Wheeling Creek 70 miles—on the National Road, 5 are stone bridges—at 10½ p. m. arrived at Washington, Pa., 32 miles—had supper and at 12 a. m. started again.

Dec. 6th—7 a. m. breakfasted at Brownsville. Left at 8 a. m.—Uniontown 11 a. m. Left after 30 minutes—ascended Laurelville Mountain—vast view. In midst of the Allegany Mountains, Crossed Yougheny River on a bridge, Frosttown, Maryland, 8:30 p. m. slept 3 hours and had supper.

Dec. 7th—Started at 12 a. m.—16 miles round meadows mountain—arrived at Cumberland at 6 a. m., too dark to see the town, began the ascent of Martin's Mountain, Polished Mt. Green Ridge Mt. Savage Hill Mt. Town Hill Mt. and then sidelining Hill Mt. Passed 28 droves of hogs, containing 21360

animals for Baltimore. At 10 p. m. arrived at Hagerstown. Farewell to the mountains.

Dec. 8th—Left Hagerstown at 5 a. m.—at 8 a. m. arrived at Fredercktown in rain & storm. Breakfasted and left at 10 a. m. Arrived at Georgetown & put up at Tilley's Good table and good house—Still raining & storming very hard.

Dec. 10th—Went to Washington—City Hotel. Visited the Capitol and public offices.

Dec. 11th—Did not go out—Weather dull & cloudy.

Dec. 12th—Attended to what I had to do and saw what I had not already seen.

Dec. 13th—Left for Baltimore at 8 a. m. Good turnpike. At 4 p. m. arrived at Baltimore. Put up at Beltzhoover's Indian Queen—went to the Theatre and saw Paul Pry.

Dec. 14th—Baltimore—fine streets—houses look clean—An elegant monument and fine Exchanges—US Bank.

Dec. 15th—Left Baltimore at 10 a. m. by steamboat for Philadelphia.

(The journal ends here. It is known however that the writer spent several days in Philadelphia where he had friends and connections; and then by stage to New York, he finished his long journey.)

Shabonee's Account of Tippecanoe

By J. WESLEY WHICKAR

I found recently a description of the Battle of Tippecanoe by Shobonier, an Ottawa Indian, who became a Potawatomi chief, and this with the description by Judge Isaac Naylor, whose home was in Crawfordsville, gives two good accounts of the Battle of Tippecanoe. One from a white soldier, the other from an Indian brave, both participating in the battle. In a publication entitled *Me-Won-I-Toe*, which was written in 1864 by Solon Robinson, who gives the following account of the Battle of Tippecanoe by Shobonier.

SHABONEE'S DESCRIPTION OF THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE.¹

It was fully believed among the Indians that we should defeat General Harrison, and that we should hold the line of the

¹Shabonee or Shobonier a Potawatomi chief, grand nephew of Pontiac, born on the Maumee River, in 1775, died in Morris, Grundy County, Illinois, July 17, 1859. His father was an Ottawa who fought under Pontiac. The son, who was a man of fine parts and magnificent presence, and was one of Tecumseh's Lieutenants, fought by his side when he was killed at the battle of Thames. Becoming incensed at the treatment of the Indian allies by the British commander, he with Sauganash transferred their allegiance to the Americans. Joining the Potawatomi, among whom he married, he was chosen peace chief of the tribe, and was their spokesman at the council with the representatives of the Government at Chicago in August 1836. In the Winnebago and Black Hawk wars he performed invaluable service for the white pioneers, time and again saving the settlements from destruction by timely warnings. When the Winnebago rose in 1827 he visited the Potawatomi villages to dissuade them from taking up arms, and at the village on Geneva Lake, Wisconsin, he was made a prisoner and threatened with death. As the white man's friend he encountered the ill will of a large part of the Indians, but his influence over his own tribe was sufficient to restrain it from joining in a body of forces of Black Hawk, who twice went to Shabonee in person and tried to enlist him in his cause. Shabonee held his tribe and remained true to the whites. As a council of the allied tribes in February 1832, Shabonee espoused the cause of the whites and endeavored to convince Black Hawk that his proposed uprising would only bring disaster to the Indians. Unsuccessful in his endeavor, he and his son mounted their ponies at midnight, and starting from a point near the present Princeton, Illinois, warned the settlers both east and west of the intended outbreak, Shabonee finally reaching Chicago in time to put the inhabitants on their guard. The Sauk and Foxes in revenge attempted many times to murder him, and killed his son and his nephew. In 1836 the Potawatomi migrated beyond the Mississippi, Shabonee went with them but returned shortly to the two sections of land at his village, at the Pawpaw Grove in De Kalb County, Illinois, which the Government had awarded him under the treaties of July 29, 1829 and October 20, 1832, as a reward for his services. At the solicitation of his tribe he joined them again, but pined for civilization, and in 1855 again returned to find that speculators had bought his two sections of land at public sale on the grounds that he had abandoned it. The citizens of Ottawa, Illinois, then bought him a small farm on the South Bank of the Illinois River, two miles above Seneca, Grundy County, on which he passed his remaining

Wabash and dictate terms to the whites. The great cause of our failure, was the Miamies, whose principal country was south of the river, and they wanted to treat with the whites so as to retain their land, and they played false to their red brethren and yet lost all. They are now surrounded and will be crushed. The whites will shortly have all their lands and they will be driven away.

In every talk to the Indians, General Harrison said:

Lay down your arms. Bury the hatchet, already bloody with murdered victims, and promise to submit to your great chief at Washington, and he will be a father to you, and forget all that is past. If we take your land, we will pay for it. But you must not think that you can stop the march of white men westward.

There was truth and justice in all that talk. The Indians with me would not listen to it. It was dictating to them. They wanted to dictate to him. They had counted his soldiers, and looked at them with contempt. Our young men said:

We are ten to their one. If they stay upon the other side, we will let them alone. If they cross the Wabash, we will take their scalps or drive them into the river. They cannot swim. Their powder will be wet. The fish will eat their bodies. The bones of the white men will lie upon every sand bar. Their flesh will fatten buzzards. These white soldiers are not warriors. Their hands are soft. Their faces are white. One half of them are calico peddlers. The other half can only shoot squirrels. They cannot stand before men. They will all run when we make a noise in the night like wild cats fighting for their young. We will fight for ours, and to keep the pale faces from our wigwams. What will they fight for? They won't fight. They will run. We will attack them in the night.

Such were the opinions and arguments of our warriors. They did not appreciate the great strength of the white men. I knew their great war chief, and some of his young men. He was a good man, very soft in his words to his red children, as he called us; and that made some of our men with hot heads mad. I listened to his soft words, but I looked into his eyes. They were full of fire. I knew that they would be among his men like coals of fire in the dry grass. The first wind would

years. He received an annuity of \$200 from the Government for his services in the Black Hawk War, which, with contributions from his friends, kept him from want. A monument consisting of a large granite boulder, was erected over his grave at Evergreen cemetery, at Morris, Illinois, October 23, 1903. Shabonee's name is appended to the treaties of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, August 19, 1825 and July 29, 1829; and Camp Tippecanoe, Indiana, October 20, 1832; and Chicago, September 26, 1833. *Bulletin 30 Part 2. Hand Book of American Indians.* Bureau of American Ethnology, 517.

raise a great flame. I feared for the red men that might be sleeping in its way. I, too, counted his men. I was one of the scouts that watched all their march up the river from Vincennes. I knew that we were like these bushes—very many. They were like these trees; here and there one. But I knew too, when a great tree falls, it crushes many little ones. I saw some of the men shoot squirrels, as they rode along, and I said, the Indians have no such guns. These men will kill us as far as they can see. "They cannot see in the night," said our men who were determined to fight. So I held my tongue. I saw that all of our war chiefs were hot for battle with the white men. But they told General Harrison that they only wanted peace. They wanted him to come up into their country and show their people how strong he was, and then they would all be willing to make a treaty and smoke the great pipe together. This was what he came for. He did not intend to fight the Indians. They had deceived him. Yet he was wary. He was a great war chief. Every night he picked his camping ground and set his sentinels all around, as though he expected we would attack him in the dark. We should have done so before we did, if it had not been for this precaution. Some of our people taunted him for this, and pretended to be angry that he should distrust them, for they still talked of their willingness to treat, as soon as they could get all the people. This is part of our way of making war. So the white army marched further and further into our country, unsuspecting, I think, of our treachery. In one thing we were deceived. We expected that the white warriors would come up on the south bank of the river, and then we could parley with them; but they crossed far down the river and came on this side, right up to the great Indian town that Elskatawwa had gathered at the mouth of the Tippecanoe. In the meantime he had sent three chiefs down on the south side to meet the army and stop it with a talk until he could get the warriors ready. Tecumseh had told the Indians not to fight, but when he was away, they took some scalps, and General Harrison demanded that we should give up our men as murders, to be punished.

Tecumseh had spent months in traveling all over the country around Lake Michigan, making great talks to all the warriors, to get them to join him in his great designs upon the pale

faces. His enmity was the most bitter of any Indian I ever knew. He was not one of our nation, he was a Shawnee. His father was a great warrior. His mother came from the country where there is no snow, near the great water that is salt. His father was treacherously killed by a white man before Tecumseh was born, and his mother taught him, while he sucked, to hate all white men, and when he grew big enough to be ranked as a warrior she used to go with him every year to his father's grave and make him swear that he would never cease to make war upon the Americans. To this end he used all his power of strategy, skill and cunning, both with white men and red. He had very much big talk. He was not at the battle of Tippecanoe. If he had been there it would not have been fought. It was too soon. It frustrated all his plans.

Elskatawwa was Tecumseh's older brother. He was a great medicine. He talked much to the Indians and told them what had happened. He told much truth, but some things that he had told did not come to pass. He was called "The Prophet." Your people knew him only by that name. He was very cunning, but he was not so great a warrior as his brother, and he could not so well control the young warriors who were determined to fight.

Perhaps your people do not know that the battle of Tippecanoe was the work of white men who came from Canada and urged us to make war. Two of them who wore red coats were at the Prophet's Town the day that your army came. It was they who urged Elskatawwa to fight. They dressed themselves like Indians, to show us how to fight. They did not know our mode. We wanted to attack at midnight. They wanted to wait till daylight. The battle commenced before either party was ready, because one of your sentinels discovered one of our warriors, who had undertaken to creep into your camp and kill the great chief where he slept. The Prophet said if that was done we should kill all the rest or they would run away. He promised us a horseload of scalps, and a gun for every warrior, and many horses. The men that were to crawl upon their bellies into camp were seen in the grass by a white man who had eyes like an owl, and he fired and hit his mark. The Indian was not brave. He cried out. He should have lain still and died. Then the other men fired. The other Indians

were fools. They jumped up out of the grass and yelled. They believed what had been told them, that a white man would run at a noise made in the night. Then many Indians who had crept very close so as to be ready to take scalps when the white men ran, all yelled like wolves, wild cats and screech owls; but it did not make the white men run.

They jumped right up from their sleep with guns in their hands and sent a shower of bullets at every spot where they heard a noise. They could not see us. We could see them, for they had fires. Whether we were ready or not we had to fight now for the battle was begun. We were still sure that we should win. The Prophet had told us that we could not be defeated. We did not rush in among your men because of the fires. Directly the men ran away from some of the fires, and a few foolish Indians went into the light and were killed. One Delaware could not make his gun go off. He ran up to a fire to fix the lock. I saw a white man whom I knew very well—he was a great hunter who could shoot a tin cup from another man's head—put up his gun to shoot the Delaware. I tried to shoot the white man but another who carried the flag just then unrolled it so that I could not see my aim. Then I heard the gun and saw the Delaware fall. I thought he was dead. The white man thought so, too, and ran to him with his knife. He wanted a Delaware scalp. Just as he got to him the Delaware jumped up and ran away. He had only lost an ear. A dozen bullets were fired at the white man while he was at the fire, but he shook them off like an old buffalo bull.

Our people were more surprised than yours. The fight had been begun too soon. They were not all ready. The plan was to creep up through the wet land where horses could not run, upon one side of the camp, and on the other through a creek and steep bank covered with bushes, so as to be ready to use the tomahawk upon the sleeping men as soon as their chief was killed. The Indians thought white men who had marched all day would sleep. They found them awake.

The Prophet had sent word to General Harrison that day that the Indians were all peaceable, that they did not want to fight, that he might lie down and sleep, and they would treat with their white brothers in the morning and bury the hatchet. But the white men did not believe.

In one minute from the time the first gun was fired I saw a great war chief mount his horse and begin to talk loud. The fires were put out and we could not tell where to shoot, except one side of the camp, and from there the white soldiers ran, but we did not succeed as the Prophet told us that we would, in scaring the whole army so that all the men would run and hide in the grass like young quails.

I never saw men fight with more courage than these did after it began to grow light. The battle was lost to us by an accident, or rather by two.

A hundred warriors had been picked out during the night for this desperate service, and in the great council-house the Prophet had instructed them how to crawl like snakes through the grass and strike the sentinels; and if they failed in that, then they were to rush forward boldly and kill the great war chief of the whites, and if they did not do this the Great Spirit, he said, had told him that the battle would be hopelessly lost. This the Indians all believed.

If the one that was first discovered and shot had died like a brave, without a groan, the sentinel would have thought that he was mistaken, and it would have been more favorable than before for the Indians. The alarm having been made, the others followed Elskatawwa's orders, which were, in case of discovery, so as to prevent the secret movement, they should make a great yell as a signal for the general attack. All of the warriors had been instructed to creep up to the camp through the tall grass during the night, so close that when the great signal was given, the yell would be so loud and frightful that the whole of the whites would run for the thick woods up the creek, and that side was left open for this purpose.

"You will, then," said the Prophet, "have possession of their camp and all its equipage, and you can shoot the men with their own guns from every tree. But above all else you must kill the great chief."

It was expected that this could be easily done by those who were allotted to rush into camp in the confusion of the first attack. It was a great mistake of the Prophet's red-coated advisers, to defer this attack until morning. It would have succeeded when the fires were brighter in the night. Then they could not have been put out.

I was one of the spies that had dogged the steps of the army to give the Prophet information every day. I saw all the arrangement of the camp. It was not made where the Indians wanted it. The place was very bad for the attack. But it was not that which caused the failure. It was because General Harrison changed horses. He had ridden a grey one every day on the march, and he could have been shot twenty times by scouts that were hiding along the route. That was not what was wanted, until the army got to a place where it could be all wiped out. That time had now come, and the hundred braves were to rush in and shoot the "Big chief on a white horse," and then fall back to a safer place.

This order was fully obeyed, but we soon found to our terrible dismay that the "Big chief on a white horse" that was killed was not General Harrison. He had mounted a dark horse. I know this, for I was so near that I saw him, and I knew him as well as I knew my own brother.

I think that I could then have shot him, but I could not lift my gun. The Great Spirit held it down. I knew then that the great white chief was not to be killed, and I knew that the red men were doomed.

As soon as daylight came our warriors saw that the Prophet's grand plan had failed—that the great white chief was alive riding fearlessly among his troops in spite of bullets, and their hearts melted.

After that the Indians fought to save themselves, not to crush the whites. It was a terrible defeat. Our men all scattered and tried to get away. The white horsemen chased them and cut them down with long knives. We carried off a few wounded prisoners in the first attack, but nearly all the dead lay unscalped, and some of them lay thus till the next year when another army came to bury them.

Our women and children were in the town only a mile from the battle-field waiting for victory and its spoils. They wanted white prisoners. The Prophet had promised that every squaw of any note should have one of the white warriors to use as her slave, or to treat as she pleased.

Oh how these women were disappointed! Instead of slaves and spoils of the white men coming into town with the rising sun, their town was in flames and women and children were

hunted like wolves and killed by hundreds or driven into the river and swamps to hide.

With the smoke of that town and the loss of that battle I lost all hope of the red men being able to stop the whites.

I fought that day by the side of an old Ottawa chief and his son, the brother of my wife. We were in the advance party, and several of those nearest to me fell by the bullets or blows of two horsemen who appeared to be proof against our guns. At length one of these two men killed the young man and wounded the old chief, and at the same time I brought him and his horse to the ground. The horse ran, before he fell, down the bluff into the creek, quite out of the way of the whites. The man's leg was broken and he had another bad wound. I could have taken his scalp easily, but Sabaqua, the old chief, begged me not to kill him. He wanted to take him to his wife alive, in place of her son whom the white brave had killed.

I was willing enough to do this for I always respected a brave man, and this one was, beside, the handsomest white man I had ever seen. I knew him as soon as I saw him closely. I had seen him before. I went to Vincennes only one moon before the battle as a spy. I told the governor that I came for peace. This young man was there and I talked with him. He was not one of the warriors but had come because he was a great brave. He had told me, laughingly, that he would come to see me at my wigwam. I thought now that he should do it. I caught a horse—there were plenty of them that had lost their riders—and mounted the white brave with Sabaqua behind him to hold him on and started them off north. I was then sure that we should all have to run that way as soon as it was light. The Indians were defeated. The great barrier was broken. It was my last fight. I put my body in the way. It was strong then, but it was not strong enough to stop the white men. They pushed it aside as I do this stick. I have never seen the place since where we fought that night. My heart was very big then. Tecumseh had filled it with gall. It has been empty ever since.²

² For a further description of the Battle of Tippecanoe by eye witnesses, see *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. 2, pages 163-184, journals of Judge Isaac Naylor and Col. John Tipton. The account is also printed in the *Report of the Tippecanoe Monument Commission*, by Alva O. Reser, 1909.

Solon Robinson gives the following account of Tecumseh's return, in *Me-Won-I-Toc*:

This chieftain was in Georgia or Florida at the time of the battle and knew nothing of it or its results until late in the winter. He did not meet with the success that he had hoped for upon his mission and he returned sad and dispirited with the little body-guard that accompanied him on his trip south. He crossed the Ohio river near Shawneetown and kept up the edge of the Grand prairie, thus avoiding all the settlements on the Wabash. Opposite the point where the river bends eastward from its general north and south course, the party struck off east and crossed over to the south side of the river to visit some friends at Shawnee prairie. [He crossed the Wabash river at the Baltimore hill, north of Covington, at what is now known as the Bend.]

It was night when they crossed the army trail, or Tecumseh would have read in it the explanation why he did not find his friends where he expected to meet them. He thought that for some reason the Prophet had called in the scattering families, concentrating them around his town. He did not dream of the great disaster that had fallen upon that town. He did not look about him the next day with the usual sagacity of an Indian, who reads a long history in a few little signs such as a white man might pass unnoticed. He arrived after dark in the evening on the site of the Prophet's town, without having met a single soul to give him any information. His heart had begun to misgive him. How it must have sank down to the zero of despair when he neither saw a light nor heard one sound of life, where but a few months before he had left such a stirring community.

"In a single moment," as he afterward told Shobonier, "I realized that I was a ruined man. My mission to my mother's native land and her brothers had failed. I could not induce them to come where the water turns to stone and the rain comes from the clouds in showers of white wool and buries every green thing out of sight. I had shut my eyes all the way so as not to see the beautiful country that would soon be trampled under the feet of the hated white men. I was going from a sunny clime to one of ice and snow, and I thought that although it might lie deep and cold upon the roof of my wig-

wam, I should find a warm fire within. And that thought kept me warm through all the chilly nights of that long journey. If I was hungry, I said I can bear it, for I know that my people on the Wabash have plenty of corn, and my friends, the English, give them great stores of cloth, blankets, guns and powder for their furs. But when I came to this land of plenty and looked for my warm home and my young wife to welcome me, I heard no voice and saw nothing but darkness. Then my heart was black. I knew at once the cause of all this desolation. I saw the marks of the great white general that I had defied in his own council house, in every blackened brand of the burned town. I stood upon the ashes of my own home, where my own wigwam had sent up its fire to the Great Spirit, and there I summoned the spirits of the braves who had fallen in their vain attempt to protect their homes from the grasping invader, and as I snuffed up the smell of their blood from the ground I swore once more eternal hatred—the hatred of an avenger. I am now going to strike these foes. Will my red brethren go with me?"

A few went, not all, for the charm that had held them fast to the great chief was broken. He might swear vengeance over his ruined wigwam and all the homes of his people, but he could not wipe out the blood of that battle-field, nor heal the festering wounds of a hundred disabled warriors. Nor could he regain his lost prestige. If in a single moment he realized that he was a ruined man, he continued to realize it all his life.

He no longer declared that Elskatawwa was a Prophet and possessed of supernatural powers and knowledge. He called him by a most degrading epithet, that means far more than "fool."

The next summer after the battle of Tippecanoe, war was declared between the United States and England, and then Tecumseh appeared in a new character—a brigadier general in the British service, and commander-in-chief of all the Indian allies of that power. He fought a severe battle at Fort Meigs, Ohio, May 5, 1812, and another, perfectly desperate, at the Moravian Towns, on the River Thames, Canada, in the Autumn of 1813, where he laid down his life fighting for his country, and to avenge wrongs which he felt had been inflicted upon him by the Americans.

He was still a young man at the time of his death, strong and hearty, well-formed in body, limb and features. His height was about five feet ten inches and always erect.

Historical News

By JOHN W. OLIVER

The fall meeting of the Indiana Southwestern historical society was held October 11 in Rockport. The meeting was the largest in the history of the "pocket" organization, more than 300 persons being present. Mrs. Calder D. Ehrman, vice-president of the Spencer County historical society, was chairman of the committee on arrangements, and no detail had been overlooked to make the meeting an interesting one, both from the standpoint of the program and from the standpoint of entertainment to the numerous visitors. Rockport only recently dedicated its new courthouse, a model from the architectural standpoint, in which the historical society meeting was held.

Judge John E. Iglehart, president of the society, made a talk in which he outlined the nature of the historical work being conducted by the eight counties in southwestern Indiana. He laid special emphasis on the importance of compiling the biographical history of the early leaders in that section of the state. A paper on "Old Gilead Church and the Rev. Charles Polk" was read by Thomas J. de la Hunt of Cannelton. Mrs. Kate Milner Rabb made a talk on "Spencer County During the Fifties." An outline of the historical work that is being conducted throughout the state was presented by John W. Oliver, and the "pocket counties" were urged to take the lead in this special work, which the Indiana historical commission is now promoting.

Following the historical program, the visitors were tendered a pioneer reception by Mr. and Mrs. A. J. Cook, who had fitted up a two room pioneer cabin, which was filled with interesting historical relics. A special display of Lincoln relics had been arranged, and among others was an old cupboard made for Elizabeth Crawford by Thomas and Abraham Lincoln during their residence in Spencer county. The old cupboard now belongs to a descendant, Mrs. Charles F. Brown. Beside the fire-place sat Mrs. Margaret Wright, ninety-one years old, the grand-daughter of Daniel Grass, one of Spencer county's

first settlers. A spinning wheel which belonged to James A. Gentry, Sr., and which had been in the family for more than two hundred years, was another relic that caught the visitor's eye. Col. James S. Wright, ninety years old, colonel of the 25th Indiana volunteers, reported as the only living colonel in Indiana who went out and came back with his regiment, was also present, and greeted the visitors. The first marriage record of Spencer county, dated 1818, a license for Aaron Grigsby to Sarah Lincoln, an old paper printed in 1800, a poster bed 104 years old, a brick-mould used by Abraham Lincoln when he helped lay the bricks for the first church built in Gentryville, and numerous other relics were on display.

A souvenir, distributed during the meeting as a reminder of Lincoln's residence in the city, was a page from the book of the Pigeon Baptist church near Gentryville, to which Thomas Lincoln belonged, and which showed the day in June, 1828, on which Lincoln "now joined by letter." Seventy-six new members from Spencer county were added to the Southwestern Indiana historical society. An excellent collection of historical relics has been installed in the Spencer county courthouse, and rooms have been provided permanently for the county historical society in which the relics will be kept on exhibit.

The annual meeting of the Lake County historical society, and Old Settlers reunion was held in Crown Point, August 27, 1921, attended by the largest crowd in the history of the organization. The newspapers report that more than three thousand people were present. During the afternoon program, a marker erected on the site of the homestead of Solon Robinson, first settler in Crown Point, was dedicated. A. F. Knotts of Gary read a paper on the "Life of Solon Robinson," pioneer, abolitionist, advocate of prohibition and women suffragist.

Solon Robinson, who is said to have been the founder of Crown Point and Lake county, was born in Connecticut, October 21, 1803. He moved to Jennings county, Indiana, about 1830 and in 1834 settled as a "squatter" in what is now Lake county, Indiana. In 1837, he began contributing articles to the *Cultivator*, published at Albany, N.Y., and in the early forties he began to write for the *New York Tribune*. In 1841, he originated the National agricultural society at Washington,

D.C. In 1850, he became editor of the agricultural department of the New York *Tribune* and was associated with Horace Greeley and Charles A. Dana, which position he held until his death at Jacksonville, Florida, November 3, 1880. He was the author of a number of books, including *The Will*, *Man-i-to-woc* and *The Last of the Buffalo*, which were written when he lived at Crown Point. A copy of the address read by Mr. Knotts together with portraits of Robinson and a picture of the early home in Lake county, have been filed in the Indiana state library.

The Indiana historical commission was specifically authorized by the last session of the state legislature to co-operate with local and county historical societies, and with patriotic societies in the movement to erect markers and tablets on historic sites and spots in Indiana. Representatives of several organizations interested in preserving local history, and in marking historic sites, were called together in the office of the Historical commission on Friday afternoon, September 30, and a definite program was agreed upon which will be followed throughout the state. The Historical commission will issue a bulletin within the near future which will give, county by county, a list of all historic sites and spots within the state that have been marked. This is only a preliminary step to the larger campaign that will be inaugurated throughout the state, calling attention to the numerous sites and spots that should be designated by appropriate markers. The Historical commission will co-operate with each community in the work of selecting sites and spots of historical value, and will advise with the local committees in charge as to the nature of the tablet, boulder or monument that should be used in designing the local historical event.

A bronze memorial tablet marking the spot where Henry Clay delivered his famous address, October 1, 1842, at the corner of North A and 7th streets, Richmond, Indiana, was dedicated, October 14, 1921. The Kiwanis club of Richmond presented the granite boulder to which a bronze tablet containing the following inscription was affixed:

On October 1, 1842, in what was then an open tract in this city square, Henry Clay, the leader of the Whig party, delivered an address to an immense multitude, and Hiram Mendenhall, a Quaker Abolitionist,

presented to him on behalf of the Indiana Anti-Slavery Society, a numerously signed petition, asking his to free his slaves. Clay, in an eloquent reply, criticized this act as a breach of hospitality, described the difficulties and perils of immediate emancipation and advised Mendenhall to begin his work of benevolence at home.

Clay's rejoinder was then overwhelmingly applauded, yet the incident was afterwards an important factor in the growth of the Liberty party; in the defeat of Clay for the presidency in 1844; and in the spread of an anti-slavery sentiment, which contributed to the dissolution of the Whig party, the organization of the Republican party and finally to the Civil war and ultimate emancipation.

Addresses were made by William Dudley Foulke and Professor Harlow Lindley of Earlham college.

Just 100 years ago the Bloomington firm of Seward & Company, iron foundry, was organized and has been continuously in business here ever since. It is probably the oldest business in the state which has continued under the same firm name and by direct descendants of the same family for 100 years. The business was started by Austin Seward, who came to Bloomington, September 14, 1821, and immediately set up a log cabin shop near the public square. A brick building, a part of which is still standing, soon afterward was erected on the same site. The concern has passed through the hands of four generations and is now conducted by Fred and Austin Seward, graduates of Indiana university.

Indianapolis Star, September 17, 1921.

The Indiana Historical commission, co-operating with the division of geology of the department of conservation, is conducting an archeological and historical survey of Indiana, county by county. Blue print maps of each county are being prepared and a special questionnaire issued by the two departments are supplied to the counties which undertake the survey. Included in the archeological list of material will be found a reference to mounds, earthworks, enclosures, specimens and collections, descriptions of which are to be given as to size, shape and state of preservation. The exact location is to be noted and charts, pictures and drawings are to be made of the mounds and of the remains. Also the earliest settlements within the county, sites of historic buildings, old cemeteries, boundary lines, birthplaces of noted people, markers, old trails, trade routes, and other points of historical interest will be designated on the map. The historical material called for includes a list of old books, diaries, ledgers, letters, newspapers, historic documents, pamphlets, and other sources of

state and local history. It will require two or three, or even perhaps four, years to complete the survey of the entire state, but when the counties have made a careful examination of their historical and archeological material, Indiana will then be in possession of the first and only systematic survey that has been made of its rich archeological remains and historical records. The survey has already been started in Ripley, Jefferson, Johnson and Owen counties.

The Allen County historical society recently unearthed what is believed to be an old Indian battle ground some sixteen miles north of Fort Wayne in Smith township, about one mile across the Allen county line from Eel River township. On the brow of a hill rising above Eel river is what appears to be the ruins of a circular stockade some thirty feet in circumference. Opinions have been advanced by the members of the society that Chief Little Turtle used this place for protection and stored his supplies there. Another theory is that the massacre of LeBalme, an early French cavalry officer who served with the American army occurred here in 1780. LeBalme and his followers were on their way to Detroit to capture this place after the capture of Vincennes by George Rogers Clark. Further explorations of the mound are being made.

Wabash county claims the honor of having the oldest pioneer society of any county in Indiana. The society was organized October 30, 1870, at which time Elijah Hackelman, president, and John L. Knight, secretary, were elected. An article appeared in the Wabash *Times-Star*, August 11, 1921, in which a description of the first meeting was given, relating the account given by Major Stearns Fisher of his journey to Wabash county in 1843, when there were only twelve white families living in the county. The membership in the pioneer society during this first year numbered 244 persons. In 1909 the society erected a Lincoln centennial log cabin in the city park, and the logs used in the cabin were first used in an old cabin constructed by one John Correll in Liberty township in 1848. In the cabin numerous relics possessing historical interest and dating back to the first families in Wabash county are to be found.

The Society of Indiana pioneers selected the historic city of Vincennes as the object of its annual fall pilgrimage in Octo-

ber, 1921. A special car was placed at the disposal of the society, and upon arriving in Vincennes, a reception committee met the society and conducted them through the city, pointing out the places and buildings of historic interest, and visits were made to the historic spots and to the Harrison home. The Society of Indiana pioneers is doing much to stimulate interest in pioneer history, and its historical pilgrimages always awaken an interest in the community visited.

The Lawrenceburg *Press*, September 22, 1921, issued a Beecher club edition in memory of Henry Ward Beecher, who began his ministry in that historic town in May, 1837. The Beecher club consists of a young men's Bible class in Lawrenceburg, organized to keep alive the name and honor of Henry Ward Beecher. The interesting issue of the *Press* for September 22 contains several biographical sketches of Henry Ward Beecher, a history and picture of Hanover college which received much support from Mr. Beecher, an article by Vice-President Thomas R. Marshall on the "Duty of the Church," an article by the editor, D. Paul Ziegler giving a history of "Journalism in Indiana," an article on "James B. Eads," one of the world's greatest engineers, referred to as the master of the Father of Waters, and an article on the public schools of Lawrenceburg. Pictures of the Presbyterian church where Beecher began his ministry, the tomb of William Henry Harrison at North Bend, Ohio, not far from Lawrenceburg, the first Presbyterian church in Aurora, organized April 14, 1844, the Tousey house erected in 1820 by Captain Samuel C. Vance, and a picture of the old Dearborn county courthouse, were included in this edition.

On Tuesday, October 11, 1921, the Ouiatenon club of Crawfordsville, numbering fifty members, headed by Prof. Lawrence H. Gipson, made a trip to the site of the old fort, four miles south of Lafayette, and held an historical meeting. Alva O. Reser, president of the Tippecanoe County historical society, presided at the meeting, and a paper was read by Dr. John N. Taylor, of Crawfordsville on "A Glimpse of Old Fort Ouiatenon in 1719-64." After giving a history of Fort Ouiatenon during the French and English colonial period, Dr. Taylor made a plea for setting aside the site of the fort as a state

park, and suggests that it be connected with the Tippecanoe Battle Ground near Lafayette.

Not often is it permitted a man to serve continuously as a minister of the same church for fifty years. But this unusual honor has come to Dr. Charles Little, pastor of the Presbyterian church in Wabash, Indiana, who on November 6 started upon his fiftieth year of the ministry in the same church. Dr. Little was born December 1, 1845, at Granville, Ohio. After studying in Dennison university, Marietta college, and in the Lane Theological seminary in Cincinnati, he came to Wabash, Indiana, in November, 1872, at which place he has since resided continuously. Dr. Little served as clerk of the state synod for twenty years, and was one time moderator of the national general assembly.

On August 21, the Ninth annual community meeting of Piercerville, Ripley county, co-operating with the newly organized Ripley County historical society, held an all-day program on the Piercerville school grounds. Among the historical papers read was one by Mrs. Grace A. Robinson on "Colonel Laughrey"; a paper by Carl E. Wood of Indianapolis on "The Early History of Ripley County", with special reference to the late Stephen S. Harding, and a paper by W. D. Robinson on "Arend H. Meyer", who endowed the Prattsburg school of Franklin township with \$1,000 to enable the school to prolong its sessions over the prescribed minimum fixed by law. An attendance of over one thousand people was reported.

On October 22, a statue of Major General Henry W. Lawton was unveiled at Lakeside park in Fort Wayne. The statue, which is the work of Frederick Cleveland Hibbard of Chicago, is ten and one-half feet high and is mounted on a solid block of Mt. Airy granite. On the reverse side of the base of the monument is a bronze tablet bearing the following inscription:

Major General Henry W. Lawton

Major General Henry W. Lawton
March 1, 1843 Civil War December 19, 1899

CIVIL WAR.
Enlisted April 15, 1861

Enlisted April 15, 1861.
Sergeant Company E 9th Indiana Volunteer Infantry

Highest Rank: Lieutenant-Colonel 30th Indiana Volunteer Infantry

Colonel John J. Indian Wars

Indian Wars.
Lieutenant Captain United States Army

Lieutenant, Captain, United States Army.
Capture of Chief Geronimo Spanish-American War—1899

Brigadier-General 2nd Infantry Division

El Caney, San Juan, Santigao de Cuba.

Philippine Insurrection.

Killed in Battle, San Mateo, Luzon, P. I.

From farm boy to Major-General. At death, second in command of
United States Army. Honored by a nation; mourned
by friends; died beloved.

General Lawton was born March 1, 1843, and, when still an infant, came to Allen county from Ohio with his parents, who erected a log cabin in a little clearing. It was from this home that Lawton at the age of eighteen enlisted in the Union army in 1861. As another tribute to his memory, a movement has been started to purchase and preserve this old cabin home.

A Clinton County historical society was organized September 23, 1921, with the following officers: president, Dr. Charles A. Zinn; vice-president, Miss Laura Bayless; secretary, Jerome Epstein; treasurer, J. F. Dreyer. The executive committee consists of D. F. Maish, Mrs. H. C. Sheridan, and Mrs. R. N. Wallace. The week preceding the organization of the county historical society, one of the most interesting relic exhibits ever displayed in Indiana took place in Frankfort. The movement was sponsored by the *Frankfort Daily Times*, under the direction of Ed. N. Thacker and Max Fowler. A collection of historical relics was brought together which has not been surpassed in any city within the state. The merchants of Frankfort donated their show windows for an entire week to a display of these relics, and upon invitation from the *Frankfort Times*, citizens from four corners of the county brought from out their hiding places relics and mementos which when assembled formed a museum difficult to equal. More than a thousand individual relics were on exhibit for an entire week, and the interest in this display brought several thousand visitors to the city. Plans for making an intensive membership drive and for the erection of a public building for the county historical society and museum purposes have been made in Clinton county.

The annual meeting of the Brookville historical society was held on Labor day, September 5, 1921, at the Little Cedar Baptist church. An all day program was carried out which included a picnic dinner, a trip to the Saylor Blockhouse, a visit to the Indian mound where the Presbyterian church stood, and

addresses on historical subjects by Dr. Frank B. Wynn, president of the State historical commission, Dr. E. E. Booth of Cincinnati, both of whom were natives of Franklin county. Both of the speakers emphasized the importance of interesting school children in the subject of local history and of compiling and preserving the rich history of Franklin county before it is forgotten.

The tenth birthday of the White County historical society and Old Settlers reunion was celebrated with an interesting program in Monticello, Saturday, August 27. Talks were made by Governor Warren T. McCray, Professor G. I. Christie of Purdue university; Rev. T. J. Bassett, W. S. Bushnell, E. T. Albertson and Mrs. M. T. Didlake. A biographical sketch and portrait of William Cheever, the first pastor of the New School Presbyterian church in Monticello, whose pastorate extended over the years from 1843-47, and who died January 2, 1878, was presented to the society. William Guthrie, president; William Anheiber, secretary, and V. B. Baker, treasurer, were elected for the ensuing year. J. B. Van Buskirk was elected historian for the coming year.

A meeting was held on Saturday night, October 15, in Greensburg for the purpose of organizing a Decatur County historical society. The following officers were elected: John F. Goddard, president; James B. Lathrop, honorary president; Mrs. D. W. Weaver, vice-president; Robert St. John, treasurer; Charles H. Ewing, secretary. A charter of incorporation was issued the society by the secretary of state, October 5.

The Morgan County historical society was organized at a meeting held in the city library at Martinsville, October 13. Mr. J. E. Robinson was elected president; Mrs. Odin Smith, vice-president; Mrs. Fanny Parks, secretary, and T. D. Boardman, superintendent of the Morgantown schools, treasurer. The charter members are: J. E. Robinson, Mrs. Odin Smith, Mrs. Fanny Parks, T. D. Boardman, Lieutenant-Governor E. F. Branch, Odin Smith, Miss Bessie Caldwell, librarian at Martinsville; Mrs. Norris Talley, librarian at Mooresville; Harriet T. Robinson, Virginia Harrison, John E. Winter, Augustus Summers, H. J. Martin, H. C. Robinson and Mary C. Robinson. The immediate work of the society is the collecting of Morgan county's World War records, and the celebration of the cen-

tennial of Martinsville in 1922. Morgan county will be represented on the program of the third history conference held at Indianapolis, December 9 and 10, by Mrs. H. C. Robinson, who will tell of the plans being made for the centennial celebration of next year.

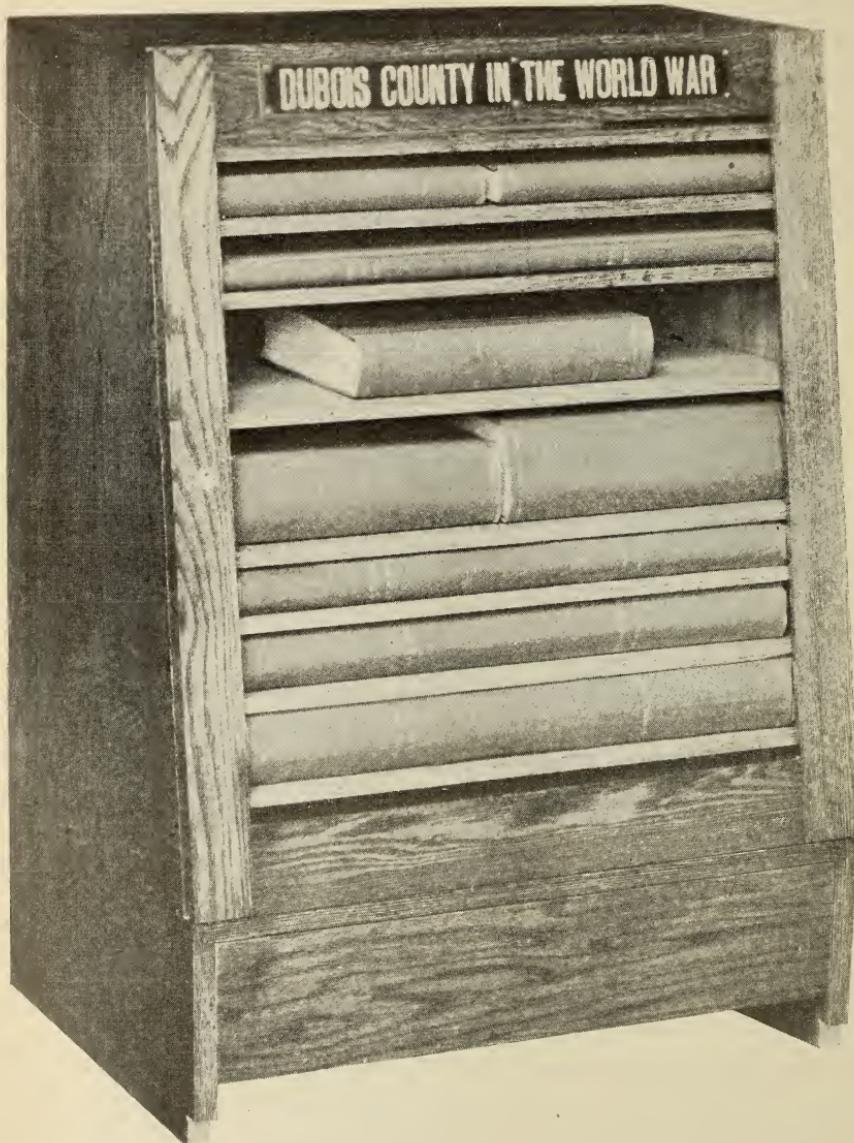
Down in that part of the state known as the Gore another county has taken its place in the list of counties with newly organized historical societies. October 13, the Dearborn County historical society had its first meeting at the library in Lawrenceburg. The following officers were elected: Archibald Shaw, president; Mrs. Harry McMullen of Aurora, vice-president; Edith Mae Sherrod, recording secretary; William H. O'Brien, treasurer; Abigail Holman of Aurora, corresponding secretary. A committee was appointed to draft by-laws, with Judge Charles A. Lowe, chairman, and Archibald Shaw, R. C. Mattox and Dr. E. J. Libbert, members. Addresses were made by Harry McMullen, Professor Jesse Riddle and Judge Lowe. The organization of the Dearborn County historical society was due to the efforts of the twelve members of the Indiana historical society now credited to that county.

Jennings county has to its credit a new state park, ten members in the Indiana historical society, and a local historical society. A renewal of interest in local history was the outcome of the visit of the Nature Study club to Vernon, Saturday and Sunday, October 1 and 2. Immediately following the visit, plans were formulated for the organization of a local historical society, and pursuant to the call of Judge John Ralph Carney, of Vernon, a number of representative citizens of Vernon and North Vernon assembled in the courthouse at Vernon and organized the Jennings County historical society. Judge Carney and Mrs. Isaac Palmer Caldwell were elected president and secretary, temporarily, until the meeting of January 7, 1922. The charter members are: Margaret A. Cone, Mrs. Homer E. Barth, Mrs. Isaac Palmer Caldwell, Mrs. A. A. Tripp, Maggie M. Abbott, Mrs. B. C. Alley, Mrs. Lincoln Dixon, Anna B. Loftus, Emma K. Pearce, Alberta Dunn, Mrs. E. L. Wagner, Catharine E. Wilkerson, Mary C. Abbott, Thomas Semon, John Ralph Carney, Cora Carney, E. J. Welker, Mrs. Zelpha Weber, H. R. Carney, George M. Roberson and Mrs.

H. R. Carney. The next meeting will be held, November 26, at the Jennings County library in North Vernon.

October 5 the Owen County historical society prefected an organization which had its beginning August 14 at the Canyon Club picnic held in the McCormick's Creek state park. At that meeting sixteen of those present signified their willingness to become members of a society organized for the purpose of collecting and preserving local history. Mr. O. E. Dunn, a descendant of the second settled in the county, was elected president. He also has the further distinction of representing the counties of Clay, Owen and Morgan in the state senate. Mrs. Culmer and daughter Ruth were elected vice-president and secretary, respectively, and Mrs. E. T. Joslin, treasurer. An executive committee consisting of the officers of the society and three additional members, Albert Free, Walker Wood and R. L. Beem, was appointed. It is the purpose of the society to increase this committee by adding one member from each township. A program was planned for the next meeting to be held at the home of Mrs. Louise Cochrane, October 28.

The invitation to the semi-annual meeting of the Henry County historical society, to be held in the society's home at Newcastle, October 27, 1921, announced that it would be a celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the organization of Henry county. Pursuant to this announcement an all-day program was given, consisting of reminiscences, the singing of old-time songs, the reading of papers appropriate to such a theme, and a picnic dinner. An exhibit of gowns, manuscripts and other articles of historical interest was arranged in addition to the exhibits already housed in the building. A representative and enthusiastic audience, in which all parts of the county were represented, filled the rooms of the building to over-flowing. The home of the society is owned by the county, and is the only home so owned in the state. As a centennial memorial of real value to the work of the historical society in the future, a member of the county council of Henry county announced that acting under the authority given to that body by the legislature of 1921, an appropriation had been made providing sufficient funds for the employment of an all-time curator, and the improvement of the home of the society so as to make it a real educational center in the com-



WORLD WAR RECORDS OF DUBOIS COUNTY.

Prepared by Miss Margaret A. Wilson. Glass Case Containing the Records
Stands in the Court House Corridor in Jasper.

munity. The Henry County historical society was organized in 1887, incorporated in 1901, and by this last action has placed itself in the lead in the work of local historical societies. All hail to the Henry County historical society!

Under the direction of the Indiana historical commission many of the counties in the state have prepared and published a comprehensive history of the part their citizens played in the World war. The county war history committees include in their reports records of the men who entered service, a report of the activities of the county council of defense, the selective service boards, the liberty loan drives, the Red Cross work and all other organizations that actively participated in war work. More than 60 of the 92 counties have completed their work, and the other 32 counties are expected to prepare their reports within the next year.

The war history of Dubois county, prepared by Miss Margaret A. Wilson, of Jasper, is regarded as the best collection of war history material that has been prepared thus far. The complete collection consists of nine volumes, designated as follows:

Volume I Miscellaneous copies of the Huntingburg *Signal*, the Huntingburg *Argus* and the *Courier* published during the war period.

Volume II Many copies of the Huntingburg *Independent* published during the war period.

Volume III A complete copy of every issue of the Jasper *Herald* published during the war period.

Volume IV Many copies of the Ferdinand *News* published during the war period.

Volume V The biographies, histories, and all other available knowledge of the Gold Star men, including a printed copy of Corporal Pickhardt's memorial.

Volume VI Records of soldiers from A to L.

Volume VII Records of soldiers from L to Z.

Volume VIII Records of sailors, nurses and liberty guards.

Volume IX Reports of the local war organizations, committees, etc., of the World war period. This volume is known as *War Activities*. In addition to the above nine volumes and as part of the war history, are large photographs of the Huntingburg War Mothers, the Ferdinand War Mothers, and the Ferdinand Liberty Guards.

The first eight volumes mentioned above are the original papers, documents, letters, reports, memorandums, etc., as obtained from interested parties by Miss Wilson. All of this

valuable material has been filed in a specially prepared oak case, which has been placed under glass cover in the county courthouse at Jasper. It is doubtful whether another county in the United States has a more complete collection of war history records than the one prepared under Miss Wilson's direction for Dubois county.

Major David I. McCormick, superintendent of the Indiana Battle Flag commission, has completed a catalogue of the flags in the state house. These flags were carried by Indiana organizations in the Mexican, Civil and Spanish American wars. There are 166 national colors and 142 regimental colors, 81 of which have been incased and are on exhibit on the fourth floor of the state house. The remaining flags have been stored carefully in the basement. It is hoped that all may be on exhibit at some time in the proposed War Memorial building. Major McCormick is now making a search for any flags which still remain in private hands. Also he is getting from the contemporary newspapers and from the soldiers themselves any stories which relate to particular flags.

Mrs. Edna B. Felter, the former state regent of the D. A. R., has placed in the Indiana state library reports for 1919-1920 and 1920-1921 and also the secretary's book which contains the minutes of the meetings of the Indiana chapter of the D. A. R. from 1901 to date.

The 100th anniversary of the founding of the Meridian Street M. E. church in Indianapolis was fittingly celebrated by a two day centennial program on Sunday and Monday, October 30 and 31, 1921. Dr. Frank B. Wynn, representing the Indiana historical commission, read a paper in which he traced the growth of the church from the date of its first meeting in a rude log cabin, erected on the spot near where the state house now stands, on down to the present day. Church centennials are occurring with increasing frequency throughout Indiana, and the history of these religious institutions adds much to the state's collection of historical material.

DANIEL WAIT HOWE
(October 24, 1838—October 28, 1921)

Daniel Wait Howe, president of the Indiana historical society from 1901 to 1920, Civil war veteran and writer of

Indiana history, died at his home in Indianapolis, October 28, 1921. Mr. Howe was born in Patriot, Switzerland county, Indiana, October 24, 1838, the son of Daniel Haven and Lucy Hicks Howe. He was the descendant of one of the oldest and most prominent families in our early history. He was educated in Franklin college where he graduated with the class of 1857. He served in the Civil war, participated in the battle of Carrick's Ford, Stone's River, Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge, the East Tennessee and Atlanta campaigns. He rose to the rank of captain. In 1867 he graduated from the Albany law school of New York. In 1873 he came to Indianapolis and three years later was elected judge of the Superior court, where he served for fourteen years. He was elected president of the Indiana historical society in 1901, was a member of the New England historical-genealogical society, and was once the president of the Indianapolis bar association. He was the author of *Puritan Republic*, published in 1899, and *Civil War Times*, published in 1902.

JOHN HAMPDEN HOLLIDAY
(May 31, 1846—October 20, 1921)

John Hampden Holliday, son of Rev. William A. and Lucia Shaw Holliday, philanthropist, editor and banker, died at his home in Indianapolis, October 20, 1921. Few men have done more to promote a study and interest in the subject of Indiana history than did Mr. Holliday. It was he who rescued from the possessions of John B. Dillon, after the latter's death, the journals of John Tipton, one of the rarest historical documents in our state archives. Mr. Holliday was the first to publish these journals. He was long a member of the Indiana historical society, the chief sponsor of the society of Indiana Pioneers, as well as its president, up until the time of his death. As editor of the Indianapolis *News*, and the Indianapolis *Press* it was part of his policy to give generous space to historical articles and new items possessing historical interest. Many of the historical feature articles which he sponsored in the newspapers of which he was the editor have since found their way into the historical literature of the state as part of its permanent collection. Splendid descriptions of pioneer life are found in

the *New Purchase*; *The Pioneer Schools*, by D. D. Banta, and from excerpts taken from the Fletcher diaries, all printed by Mr. Holliday's papers. As a collector of books he was most active, and only recently turned over to the Indiana state library a rare collection of his personal books, the largest individual collection that has ever come into the possession of the state.

REVIEWS

THE Historical commission of the Knights of Columbus are offering a series of prizes for research investigations in American history. Contestants are divided into five classes. Class A is restricted to college teachers; class B, to specialists who are not teaching; class C, to scholars in Latin American countries; class D, to public school teachers, and class E, to college undergraduates. These prizes aggregate \$8500 for 1922.

SECTIONALISM in writing history, an address by James Sullivan, is the leading article in the *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State historical association.

THE *Missouri Historical Review* for April continues the account of the explorations of Duden. Another interesting article is an outline or guide to the student of local history by James Viles and Jesse Wrench. The July number continues the Duden journal, also the reprint of Shelby's expedition into Mexico. A paper by Floyd C. Shoemaker on popularizing state history is as good for Indiana as for Missouri.

THE *Minnesota History Bulletin*, November 1920 contains two articles; The Family Trail Through American History by Cyril A. Herrick, and The Early Norwegian Press in America by Theodore C. Blegen.

LOUIS BERNARD SCHMIDT continues his article on the Internal Grain Trade of the United States in the July *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*.

Annals of Iowa, April 1921, contains a reprint of Sketches of the Mormon Era, Hancock county, Illinois, taken from Gregg's *Dollar Monthly*. The January *Annals* contains a reprint of Galland's *Iowa Emigrant*, 1840.

THE July *Palimpsest* (Iowa) is devoted entirely to a history of the Amana community—the community of True Inspiration. It is one of a number of Utopian communities that exist or have existed throughout the Northwest. The November *Palimpsest* has accounts of Old Fort Atkinson and the Beginnings of Burlington.

THE *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for April contains only one article—a translation of Marc de Villeirs' *History of the Foundation of New Orleans, 1717-1722*. The translation is by Warrington Dawson.

THE leading paper of the October *Tennessee Historical Magazine* is a review of the *Autobiography of Martin Van Buren*, especially as it throws light on the career of Andrew Jackson.

BULLETIN 13, May 1921, Indiana historical commission is the *Proceedings of the Second Annual State History Conference* held at Indianapolis, Dec. 10-11, 1920. Papers included are Joseph A. Goddard, Jefferson Davis a Prisoner in Macon, Georgia, after his capture; B. F. Shambaugh, Our History; Logan Esarey, The Renaissance of Indiana History since 1912; Herbert Briggs, Indiana History in the Schools; Nora C. Fretageot, The Relation of Community History to State History; Susan M. Garvin, The Southwestern Indiana Historical Society, its organization and aims; Robert W. McBride, Abraham Lincoln; Mrs. Mindwell C. Wilson, What the D. A. R. and Similar Organizations can do to promote the State's History; Mrs. E. F. Hodges, The Mayflower Society in its Relation to Indiana; John W. Oliver, Indiana War History Reports on Centennial Celebrations.

BULLETIN 12, April, 1921, Indiana historical commission explains state and county cooperation in Indiana history. There are 33 county historical societies listed. The law of March 11, 1901, and the amendment of March 11, 1921, permitting county funds to be used for historical purposes are quoted in full. An outline of the archeological survey now being organized is given, together with a review of the work of the historical commission.

THE Indianapolis *News*, Friday, November 25, 1921:

George Pence, a veteran examiner for the state board of accounts, has found a law applying to Indiana, when it was only a territory, that made a man working on a road liable to a fine of \$1 if he should halt a stranger on the highway and ask him for a drink.

Mr. Pence, after 3,000 hours of work on his own time, has just completed what is now an extraordinary exhibit in the State library. It consists of ninety-two volumes written in long hand and indexing the laws specifically applicable to counties from territorial times to 1852 when the present constitution was adopted. In those days the legislature enacted all kinds of special laws providing how specific and individual things should be done in counties. For instance, Mr. Pence found where the legislature authorized about 100 couples to obtain divorces. But nowhere did he find a law so destructive of the personal rights of a liberty loving people as the one prohibiting a man working on the road on a hot, dusty day from stopping a galloping traveler to ask:

“Brother, would you gimme a drink?”

THE December *Bulletin* of the National association for constitutional government contains an article by Henry Campbell Block on Socialism in American Colleges. The purpose of the association, of which David Jayne Hill is president, is to combat socialism in the colleges.

THE *Thirty-first Annual Report Eastern Indiana Hospital for the Insane*, Easthaven, Richmond, shows a total enrollment of 925, an increase of 14 for the year. Since the founding of the hospital August 1, 1890, there have been 4,541 patients enrolled. The total per capita cost for the year was \$282.70, an increase of \$26.26 over the previous year. Dr. Samuel E. Smith is superintendent.

THE *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Indiana Bar Association*, 1919, besides the usual minutes and committee reports, contains a paper by E. R. Keith, on Individual Responsibility and Respect for the Law; W. W. Thornton, The Welter of Reports and Court Decisions; Charles M. Hepburn, The Widening Scope of Legal Education in America; B. F. Bledsoe, Our Day in Court; A. W. Brady, From a Public Utility Standpoint; L. L. Bomberger, The Lawyer and the Railroads. These are carefully prepared papers and have great historical value.

LOUIS BERNARD SMITH of Iowa State college, has recently published *Topical Studies and References on the Economic*

History of American Agriculture. The introduction to the syllabus is an excellent statement of the case of agricultural history as a subject for study in the schools.

FEDERAL Government and Education is the Foundation day address, delivered by President David Kinley, of Illinois, at Bloomington, Ind., January 20, 1921. President Kinley is doubtful of the policy of Centralizing education in a federal bureau or department.

A DIRECTORY of the American Historical Association, correct to November 1, 1920, has just been issued.

Tuberculosis Among the Nebraska Winnebago, a social study on an Indian reservation, by Margaret W. Koenig, M.D., is a pamphlet of 48 pages, copiously illustrated, issued by the Nebraska State historical society, 1921. It is a good picture of the home life of these people.

THREE pamphlets recently received from Bishop F. D. Leete of Indianapolis indicate the activity of the Methodist church in the Indianapolis area. One is the bishop's inaugural address delivered at Indianapolis, July 14, 1920; another gives the constitution and program of the State Council for the Indianapolis area; the third is entitled Ten Years Retrospect of Methodist Work, 1911-1921. The last was the bishop's report to the Ecumenical conference held at London Sept. 6-11, 1921. A small four-page paper, the Indianapolis Area Herald is also published.

Proceedings of the Forty-Second Annual Encampment of the Department of Indiana Grand Army of the Republic, a pamphlet of 116 pages, gives the statistics of the G. A. R. for the year. The encampment was held at Newcastle, May 10-12, 1821. There are 220 posts in good standing; 12 were closed during the year. Total membership, 4949; loss by death during year 559. Robert W. McBride was commander during the year 1919-20; succeeded by R. H. Tyner for the following year.

THE *Catholic Historical Review* for July, 1921, has a scholarly paper by Rev. Francis J. Bellen on the Increase and Diffusion of Historical Knowledge. Those interested in

sound scholarship in history will read the article with pleasure. The *Review* of October contains an article by Sister Mary Agnes McCann on Religious Orders of Women in the United States. Comparatively few citizens of Indiana know how well these orders are represented in Indiana or the importance of the work they have done and are doing.

IN the January-April *Michigan History Magazine*, O. E. McCutcheon's Recollections of Zachariah Chandler is most interesting to out-of-Michigan readers. New England Men in Michigan History, by William Stocking, in the same number, indicates that New Englanders took a leading part in the development of the state.

THE *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, July, 1921, contains the Journal of Lewis Birdsall Harris, who went to Texas as an emigrant in 1836 and thence to California in 1849. Along the same line are the Bryan-Hays letters contained in the October issue. Donelson's Mission to Texas in Behalf of Annexation by Annie Middleton occupies nearly all of the April issue.

SMITH College Studies, October and January, is occupied entirely by *LeDernier Sejour De J. J. Rousseau, A Paris 1770-1778*, by Elizabeth A. Foster. The April number contains letters by Ann Gillam Storrow to Jared Sparks.

THE *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, July, 1921, contains an account of the battle between the Kearsarge and Alabama in Cherbourg harbor, June 19, 1864. The story is by James Magee, of Marblehead, seaman of the Kearsarge.

THE *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for April, 1921, has an article by Capt. John H. Niebaum, The Pittsburgh Blues, which gives an excellent account of the Battle of Mississinewa. The "Blues" were commanded by Capt. James R. Butler, son of Gen. Richard Butler, who was killed at St. Clair's Defeat in 1791. The article is continued in the July and October numbers of the magazine. The last installment of the article is a selection from Charles Pentland's Journal, written while performing a twelve months' service with the "Blues."

Bulletin 13 of the Michigan historical commission is entitled Michigan at Shiloh and is the report of Michigan Shiloh Soldiers' Monument commission. It consists of a number of addresses and 23 full page illustrations.

WALTER SMITH'S article, in the July number of *Journal of History* on the Periodical Literature of the Latter Day Saints is valuable from the standpoint of bibliography and suggestive from the standpoint of policy. The first newspaper representing the church was the *Evening and Morning Star*, a monthly, Independence, Missouri, June, 1832.

THE *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, May, 1921, has a number of articles of special interest to Indians. The historical sketch of the "Old Kentucky Home" will appeal to readers north of the Ohio almost as much as to those on the south side. Another valuable paper is on the Religious Development of Early Kentucky. An account of the Siege of Fort Meigs is furnished from documents left by James T. Eubank, deputy quartermaster for General Harrison. In the September *Register* there is a history of the Geological survey of Kentucky. Among their early geologists were David Dale Owen, Robert Peter, and Leo Lesquerau, well known in connection with similar work in Indiana.

AN extra number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, November, 1921, contains the proceedings of the association at its meeting held at DePauw university, April 29, 30 and May 1, 1920. There were twenty-papers read at Greencastle and four at the joint meeting in Cleveland. Of these twelve are printed in this number. Jacob P. Dunn, A. L. Kohlmeier, A. W. Brady, Wilmer C. Harris, Harriot C. Palmer, and Charles Roll of Indiana contributed papers, all of which are published in this number.

Washington County Giants, Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. 7. No. 8. By HARVEY MORRIS, Indianapolis, 1921, pp. 367-447.

During the early years there lived in Washington county, Indiana, several families remarkable for size and strength.

Brough, Stover, Denney, Lee, Uppinghouse, Buskirk, Hubbard, Craven, Morris, Clark, Hattabaugh, Dewalt, Logan, Baker, Strain, Vance, Hobbs, Huston, Short, and Young are some of the names. These were nearly all southerners, their average height was about six feet, their weight about 250 and their strength remarkable. The tallest man in the Union army according to the story was one of this group, Capt. David V. Buskirk, 82½ inches in stocking feet. It is an interesting story far out of the ordinary.

THE Twenty-Second Biennial Report of the Kansas State Historical Society covers the transactions of the society for 1919 and 1920.

J. L. HEINEMAN, of Connersville, has issued an 8-page pamphlet entitled *An Itineracy, Historic Connersville*, commemorative of the visit of the Indiana Pioneer association to that city, June 16, 1921.

Fort Wayne in 1790. Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. 7, No. 7. By M. M. QUAIFE, Indianapolis, 1921, pp. 295-361.

This is a reprint of the Journal of Henry Hay from the *Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society*, 1914. In the proceedings it bears title "A Narrative of Life on the Old Frontier." The diarist left Detroit December 9, 1789, and the journal ends abruptly Saturday, April 3, 1790. The winter of 1789-90 was spent at the trading post of Fort Wayne, then called Miamitown. It is well edited and forms a valuable document.

Centennial Memorial Volume of Indiana University, 1820-1920, pp. 345. Bloomington, 1921.

This volume is made up of two parts; the first consisting of six lectures delivered by Judge David D. Banta, on successive Foundation days from 1889-1894. These have previously been published in the *Indiana Alumni Quarterly*, beginning with the first issue of the magazine, January, 1914. The second part is an account of the series of addresses delivered at the Centennial Educational conference, held at Indiana university, May 5-7, 1920, including the address delivered by

Jacob G. Schurman on Foundation day, January 20, 1920, together with an account of the Centennial commencement. The first one hundred pages of the volume deal with the growth and early development of the university, from its beginning in 1820, through its transformation into the University (1832-1838), and the final safeguarding of its endowment by a constitutional provision in 1850. The first period of the university was the seminary, 1820-'28. As early as 1816 an act of congress provided for a "seminary of learning" and the many difficulties in obtaining professors, and the trials of the few students are related. In 1828 by a legislative enactment the seminary was raised to the dignity of a college to meet the needs of a growing community. After a few months of anxiety on the part of the founders of the college, Dr. Andrew Wylie accepted the presidency. The fourth lecture is concerned with the "Faculty War of 1832," which finally resulted in the employment of a number of new professors. The fifth lecture deals with the last stages of transformation, by which the college became the university. The sixth and last lecture in the first part of the volume, explains the changes brought about by President Wylie. All of the lectures are written in an entertaining style, containing personal references to former professors and anecdotes of interest to students and graduates of the school. The first address in the second part is "The American University: Today and Tomorrow," by J. G. Schurman. Although a scholarly discourse, setting forth the highest ideals of a university, it contains too much of the idea of a selective training for the exceptional. Of the eleven addresses published, which were delivered at the Educational conference, one of the most clear-cut and suggestive was, "The University and its Service to Business," by Evans Woolen. He sets forth the main purpose of the State university as follows: first, to train men of character to think, and second, to develop in them a habit of work. Other papers in this volume are: "Researches on Spirocleacta Pallida," by Aldred S. Warthin; "The University Medical School and the State," by A. S. Warthin; "Graduate Medical Education, Experience with the Minnesota Plan," by Elisa P. Lyon; "The Thomas Jefferson Theory of Education," by Samuel M. Ralston; "The State University at the Opening

of the Twentieth Century," by Edward A. Birge; "The Functions of the State University," by Paul Shorey; "The Obligation of the State toward Scientific Research," by Roscoe Pound; "A Present Need in American Professional Education," by Robert A. Millikan; "Spiritual Frontiersmen," by Francis J. McConnell and "The Spiritual Ideal of the University," by Sir Robert Alexander Falconer. This latter part of the volume, unlike the first, deals with topics of general interest, outlining the broad underlying principles of the relations of a State university to such professions as law, medicine and business. The last fifty pages of the book give a detailed account of the Centennial commencement, written by Ivy L. Chamness. It closes with a fitting address by Doctor Bryan to the Senior class. It is scarcely conceivable that such a valuable volume, the only one of its kind published by the university, should have neither title page, nor index. The paper is poor and the binding worse.

LESSIE LANHAM

Recollections of Early Days in Kansas; Volume II. Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society. By SHALOR WINCHELL ELDRIDGE, Topeka, 1920, pp. 235.

This is a personal account of the writer's life in Kansas from 1855-1872. Shalor Winchell Eldridge, a native of Southhampton, Massachusetts, left his home for Kansas in the early days of the struggle. He was a free state man of sterling character and a great leader in the Kansas movement. He settled with his family in Kansas City where he took charge of the American House. He concealed several free state men for months. Among them was Governor Andrew H. Reeder, whom he protected at the danger of his life and that of his family. He aided Reeder in making his escape out of Kansas. He removed his family to Lawrence for a year as the society there was more congenial to them than the border ruffian element of Kansas City. The sacking of Lawrence occurred during their stay. In 1856 Eldridge made a trip to Washington on a mission to the President, to acquaint him of conditions in Kansas. He was appointed as one of the delegates to the national Republican convention which met in June at Philadelphia. He returned

to Kansas in the late summer with a company of northern emigrants by the Iowa route. After his return he figured prominently for the free state side in the Lecompton movement and the first free state legislature. He tells his experience in a very graphic and interesting way. The personal element makes the account more valuable.

MARY FLETCHER

The Owl Sacred Pack of the Fox Indians, Bulletin 72, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, By TRUMAN MICHELSON, Washington, 1921, 83 pages. illustrated.

The text was written by Alfred Kiyana some seven years ago for Dr. Boas and by him placed in the Berlin Museum of Ethnology. It was translated into English by Horace Powershiek and has been corrected by the editor, Mr. Michelson. Both the original and the translation are printed, in parallel columns. Those interested in the Fox language will find the text one of the best sources of that language extant.

The text starts out with a description of how the gens festival is conducted; it will be noticed that there is mostly dancing and smoking of the Catlinite pipe which every one uses—"even a child, or a woman is given a smoke—all maidens, little girls, men, youths, boys." After the word "o'no id tci" was pronounced all conversation ceases and all sit quietly. One reads an account of the winter festival at which time there is dancing and the bones are taken and "thrown at the foot of an oak tree on the north side where no sunlight will strike."

In a brief description of the ceremony preceding a war party, we read of the various war songs, dances, their eating and their medicinal and wailing songs.

The proceedings of the warrior, who is now on the war-path, is given; the marvelous powers of the medicine in the sacred pack in causing death, and the effect that the flute has upon the enemy who "would be unable to move" are recorded. "The heads of the enemy would continue to be cut off while they were still alive." If the enemy made a sudden assault, or if the enemy is attempting escape, instructions are given: wide rivers can be made narrow and again wide by the mystic powers hidden in the sacred pack.

Now as to what happened to the one blessed. It is said that "Black Rainbow" was his name. And his niece was named "Deer-Horn" so it is said. They were both blessed together. An account of their meeting the owl is given and we read of the blessings which the owl bestowed upon "Black Rainbow:" he will be able to wade a deep and wide river, and if any one is wounded he will be able to heal them. Elaborate explanations came next. The one blessed will "instruct those who will take care of the sacred pack in the future."

A gens festival is held. The virtue of the sacred pack is revealed by those who had poor eyesight and they were made to have good eyesight. And those who had various diseases were led around in a circle four times. After they had been led around four times they were healed. More elaborate instructions followed.

Black-Rainbow and his niece Deer-Horn were captured by the Sioux. Black-Rainbow used his power upon them making them beat his drum. Many a Sioux came. All were captured. All were killed but one woman who was sent home to tell the story of this capture. A captured Sioux warrior was sent home to narrate the same story. The last episode is the turning to granite of both Black-Rainbow and Deer-Horn.

FRANCES CLARK FIELDS

Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission: North Carolina Manual, 1921. Compiled and edited by R. D. W. CONNOR, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C., 1921, pp. 486.

The *Manual* is printed every two years by the North Carolina Historical Commission and is used to furnish in compact form information about the state and its government and institutions. Similar manuals were issued by the state in 1903, 1905 and 1907, after which the historical commission took over the work of publication. The work of the state is taken up in the manual under the following heads, Legislative department; Executive department; Judicial department; Administrative department, Boards and Commissions, State educational institutions and State charitable institutions. A complete official register for the year 1921 is given and, as is the custom, the senators and representatives along with the gover-

nor are given publicity thru the section devoted to biographical sketches. The editor has compiled a very helpful and handy reference concerning the election returns both for the state and nation. The platforms of the leading political parties are set forth along with a copy of the Declaration of Independence and state and national constitutions. The editor has in a complete yet concise way presented reports of all the branches of government of the state and has included some new material of value. The average reader would find the book more easily usable if an index were furnished, on account of the wide difference in the character of the subjects taken up in the book.

ARTHUR MILLER

Proceedings of the New York Historical Association; Nineteenth Annual Meeting, with List of Members. Vol. XVII, New York Historical Association, 1919, pp. xx480.

The first part of the book is taken up with an account of the work of the association, giving all the details connected with the association, including a list of the members, officers, etc. The latter part of the book is given to historical addresses and papers. Among them are: The First New York State Constitution, by Edgar Dawson.—this gives a description of the economic, social and political conditions at the time the constitution was made, and it also gives some of the provisions of the constitution; The Earliest Years of the Dutch Settlement of New Netherland, by Worthington C. Ford; The Beginnings of Daily Journalism in New York City, by Francis Halsey—this paper sets forth the needs of newspapers in early New York and the names of some of the first papers in the state; King's College and the Early Days of Columbia College, by John B. Pine; Some English Governors of New York and Their Part in the Development of the Colony, by Frank Severance; Early History of Staten Island, by Ira K. Morris; Soldiers of the Champlain Valley, from a card catalogue collected by Silas H. Paine, and many others of equal interest to the student of history. Of special interest is the catalogue of the soldiers of the Champlain valley, for although the New York Historical Association does not guarantee its accuracy, it seems to be a very complete list of the members, with account of

their service. This collection should prove of great value to the descendants is tracing ancestors and by historians as well. Besides these there are fifteen illustrations, the majority being full page ones. Among them are a view of the city of Amsterdam 1656, Nathan Hale Statue in City Hall Park, Junul Mansion, Grant Tomb and Fraunces Tavern.

OVID BOES

Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission. Christoph von Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern. With an Historical Introduction and English Translation by VINCENT H. TODD, Ph. D., and JULIUS GOEBEL Ph. D., Raleigh, 1920, pp. 434.

This is a most valuable document for American history. It lets us into the midst of the German migration, beginning about 1689 and continuing till well after 1715, which filled up the back country of the New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Carolina and Georgia colonies. The descendants of these German immigrants form a substantial part of the American population today. Without them one cannot account for the American institutions, especially our social customs. The volume opens with an historical account of the European causes of the German migration, covering the first 100 pages. Graffenried was a Swiss, born in Bern, 1661. He received the A. M. degree at Cambridge in 1682, showing that he stood well with the Restoration. He became interested in America and like Penn, Baltimore and the Carolina grantees sought his fortune by promoting a colony in America. The *Account* here given is his own of the attempt and failure at New Bern. He wrote the *Account* in both French and German, the various editions differing somewhat. A French version from the library of Iverton, Switzerland, was translated for the North Carolina commission and published in *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, I, 905. Dr. Goebel has used other copies and has given us a corrected edition in French, German and in an English translation. A short vocabulary or glossary of antiquated or obsolete terms is given to aid in reading the original versions. In scholarship and mechanical workmanship the volume is up to the high standard of the North Carolina commission.

Economic History of the United States, by THURMAN W. VAN METRE, Ph. D., Associate Professor in Columbia. Holts, New York, 1921, pp. 671, VIII.

This is a fresh book. When one reads in a textbook on United States history without finding long chapters on Puritanism and Slavery he has a right to be surprised. Still more remarkable there is more about Edward K. Collins in this text than about Daniel Webster; a portrait of Boone but none of Calhoun. There is a chapter of 20 pages on the Civil War and one of 34 pages on Prices and Wages. On the other hand the title *Economic History* is misleading. There are no technical discussions of economic theory, but a plain story of the people at work. The book is a first class antidote to our present airy, idealistic moral fashion in history without being offensively materialistic. The author divides his subjects into six parts, indicating six periods in our development: the colonial period (to 1763), the New Nation (to 1819), the American System (to 1840), occupation of the west (to 1873), large scale production and competition (to 1893), industrial combination and government regulation. The period since 1873 covered by the last two sections of the text is the most troublesome to the teacher of American history. The author has stated his facts acceptably and described conditions fairly, and avoided dogmatic interpretation on his own part. He very wisely refrains from telling us what the long industrial struggle means and offers no nostrums. The text is well-made and beautifully illustrated. It seems as a school text it will be preferable to the old style politico-military text. At any rate it seems a relief to be free of glory, grandeur and moral platitudes and get down to the ground.

The Story of a Poet: Madison Cawein. Publication Number 30 of the Filson Club, Louisville. By OTTO A. ROTHERT. John P. Morton & Co., Louisville, 1921, pp. 545.

This is a memorial volume by the secretary of the Filson Club. It is unnecessary to say it is a sumptuous volume. There are 63 half-tone illustrations, nearly all full-page, of the poet himself, his haunts, houses, fancies and friends. His life, occupying about 100 pages, is told by letters, clippings and reminiscences of his associates. Pages 167-329 contain his

letters, the chapter being headed A Posthumous Auto-biography. Pages 340-353 contain reviews of his books. Pages 353-454 contain reminiscences by a score or so of his friends. The last 90 pages contain a list of his books—36 volumes of poetry, 6 brochures and 8 prose sketches—an index to his books, bibliographical references and an index.

The poet Cawein was born in Louisville March 23, 1865, lived with his parents there and at Brownsboro, 20 miles east of Louisville, till 1876. From 1876 to 1879 the family lived on the Knobs back of New Albany, Indiana. The father was a physician and patent medicine manufacturer at Louisville. Here, also, the poet lived till his death, December 8, 1914. There is no serious effort on the part of the author to estimate Mr. Cawein's work. The critics had given him a place in the first rank of American poets before his death. Before his death, 1907, *The Poems of Madison Cawein*, in five large volumes, had been issued. Since his death no complete or definitive edition of his poems, numbering in all about 1,500, has been printed. The volume is a repository of practically all the biographical data extant on Mr. Cawein's life.

Art and Artists of Indiana. By MARY Q. BURNETT. (New York, Century Company. 1921. 448 p. \$6.00.)

A most readable and delightful work as well as a valuable contribution to Indiana history has been made by Mrs. Burnet in her book on Indiana artists. The publication shows years of careful and patient research and contains more information on the subject than has ever appeared elsewhere. The author, always interested in art herself, has encouraged the art movement in the state for years. She was state art chairman of the Indiana federation of women's clubs for some time and at present is director of prints in the general federation of women's clubs. Although well qualified to handle the subject critically, she has preferred to treat it historically. As stated in the preface:

The present work is the gathering together of material that will be helpful to the future historian, of things accomplished by the artists who have lived and hoped and struggled in Indiana. No attempt has been made to give a critical analysis of motifs or technique. The artists of Indiana belong to the future, not to the past. Time will prove the value of their work, and coming generations may condemn or approve.

The author has included in the work many interesting incidents and biographical notes which give it character and atmosphere.

The chapter headings are Pioneers and Itinerant artists; New Harmony art interests; George Winter and contemporaries; Early artists in Indianapolis; Jacob Cox and his friends; John Love and the first Indiana art school; William M. Chase and Samuel Richards; The Hoosier group, J. Ottis Adams, William Forsyth, Richard B. Gruelle, Otto Stark, and T. C. Steele; The Art association of Indianapolis and the Society of western artists; The art schools and former students; Wilhelmina Seegmiller; The Richmond movement; Artists throughout Indiana; and Sculpture, Rudolph Schwarz.

Probably the most useful part of the book is the addenda of eighty-nine pages. This includes an alphabetical *Who's Who* in art, giving brief biographies of over three hundred Indiana painters, sculptors and illustrators; the names of Indiana illustrators; the names of Indiana designers of book-plates; a list of Indiana art schools, art associations, and art clubs; the names of the painters of the portraits of the governors of Indiana; a list of Indiana monuments and markers, including where possible the name of the sculptor; and a bibliography of Indiana artists. This part of the book is a veritable dictionary of Indiana art and will be a joy to all Indiana librarians. A durable cloth binding and quite a complete index make the book especially valuable for reference purposes.

The work contains eighty-one full page well chosen illustrations, a number of which are familiar to those who visit the art collections in the state. Others are reproductions of pictures in private homes and collections outside of Indiana.

It is a satisfaction to be able to recommend such a useful and complete piece of work to those interested in this subject. It would be of use in all art libraries in the country, in the larger reference libraries, and of course in every public library in Indiana.

ESTHER U. McNITT.

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